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THE CASE FOR AND AGAINST PSYCHICAL BELIEF

Sir Oliver Lodge
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Frederick Bligh Bond
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Mary Austin
Margaret Deland
William McDougall
Hans Driesch
Walter Franklin Prince
F. C. S. Schiller
John E. Coover
Gardner Murphy
Joseph Jastrow
Harry Houdini

Edited by
Carl Murchison

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Boston, Mass.

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By

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CARL MURCHISON

CLARK UNIVERSITY
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1927

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PREFACE

Back in December, 1925, Professor William McDougall, Mr. Harry Houdini, and I, while eating luncheon in the grill room of the Bancroft Hotel, Worcester, Massachusetts, began talking about spirit mediums, psychic phenomena, and other matters relating to psychical research. Professor McDougall and Mr. Houdini, though the best of friends, did not seem to be in entire agreement concerning certain matters that have become of wide social interest because of newspaper emphasis. Half jokingly and half in earnest, I suggested that they and other representatives thrash out the entire matter in a public symposium to be held at Clark University. The suggestion struck both of them with great force, and the three of us worked together in the lobby for more than two hours, planning the form of the symposium as well as we could at that early date. The President and Trustees of Clark University were favorable to the idea, and voted the use of certain funds left to Clark University some years ago for such purposes.

We want it distinctly understood that Clark University, in promoting this symposium, is by no means assuming the rôle of friend to psychical research and its various adherents. Clark University is assuming only the rôle of parliamentarian in the controversy. At this moment it is well to announce that the members of the Clark University Department of Psychology are most decidedly not yet convinced of the validity of the psychical interpretations based upon the subject matter of psychical research. Being scientists, we guarantee fair play in the conduct of this symposium. If there is a spirit world, we also, being human beings, are interested in learning about it.

Great care has been exercised in determining the individuals to whom invitations would be extended to participate in this symposium. We do not believe that a more able group of authorities could possibly be selected. A majority of the speakers are of world renown, and are experts of the highest order.

The manuscripts from Sir Oliver Lodge and from Professor John E. Coover arrived too late to be presented during the symposium, which was held at Clark University November 29 to December 11, 1926, and so are printed here for the first time. The letters from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and from Professor Joseph Jastrow continue the controversy initiated during the symposium, and are printed here

in order to make clear the convictions of these two gentlemen. The reprint of Dr. Walter F. Prince's article from the *American Journal of Psychology,* which we have inserted at the end of his address, is placed in this volume in order to make clear the differences of observation and interpretation existing between Dr. Prince and Dr. Crandon. We extend grateful thanks to the *American Journal of Psychology* for permission to reprint this article. Mr. Harry Houdini was to have been a speaker in this symposium, but his untimely death prevented. In consultation with Mrs. Houdini we have agreed that the best existing statement of Mr. Houdini's convictions in this field are represented in the chapters which Mrs. Houdini and Harper & Brothers have very kindly allowed to be reprinted from *A Magician Among the Spirits.* This book is only two years old, and Mrs. Houdini agrees that it still represents Mr. Houdini's final convictions on the subject.

Clark University offers this volume to the public, sincerely hoping that it may prove useful to the many thousands of people who are keenly interested, but who find it difficult to become well informed in this controversial field. This volume should remain for many years the authoritative source for expert opinion concerning the case for and against psychical belief.

CARL MURCHISON.

CLARK UNIVERSITY
Worcester, Massachusetts
February 1, 1927

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PART I

Convinced of the Multiplicity of Psychical Phenomena

CHAPTER I

THE UNIVERSITY ASPECT OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

By Sir Oliver Lodge

I

Universities and Psychical Research

I can but heartily welcome the pioneer effort of the Clark University to take the subject of *Psychical Research* under its wing and give it the prestige of academic recognition. The event is an important one, for hitherto the subject has not made its way and effected an entrance into the precincts of orthodox science. Not yet, for instance, has a serious attempt been made to bring it under the official notice of the Royal Society. The nearest approach to such an attempt was made by Sir William Crookes when he unsuccessfully invited one of the Secretaries of that august body to witness a simple and inexplicable physical phenomenon. Neither has the British Association, a more omniverous body, ever seriously attended to it in any of its sections. An attempt was made by Sir William Barrett in 1876, with Thought Transference as the thin end of a wedge, to effect an entrance; but though his paper was read, its publication was suppressed.

Hence, so far, the scientific world in its corporate capacity has saved its face and held aloof from phenomena which have aroused the attention and enlisted the services of individual workers in science. Such workers have entered on the subject at their own risk and with inevitable damage to their reputation. Yet the British Association has long had an Anthropological Section, under which a study of human faculty, even of an unrecognized kind, might have found a place; and recently it has developed a Psychological Section, to which presumably the subject may some day be held to belong. Meanwhile, however, that Section has limited itself, certainly in the main, to orthodox experimental and introspective psychology.

I believe that something of the same kind may be said of the leading American and Continental Societies, so that the scientific world may be absolved from any contaminating contact with such a theme, and with supernormal experiences, which nevertheless are rather

widespread and have been testified to by explorers of many different kinds.

II

Survey of the Subject

By *Psychical Research* is intended a careful, and as far as possible exhaustive, investigation into those faculties of mankind which have not yet become familiar, and which have failed to attract universal attention. For there are obscure faculties, sometimes called supernormal faculties, which are not yet incorporated into orthodox Psychology, though some of them are forcing their way into practical recognition by philosophers and medical practitioners. One of these is the phenomenon of Hypnotism. So recently as my own youth, it was utterly discredited, believed in by some whom it was the fashion to call "quacks and charlatans;" whereas now it has become a fairly recognized department of medical practice.

Another human faculty, not as yet so fully investigated, is Clairvoyance, including Telepathy, that is to say the ascertainment of information by other than the usual channels; whether it be by what is called "mind-reading," which has never been explained, or by some still more unintelligible process, to which we have not a clue. Professor Richet has called the faculty by what he intends to be the non-committal name of "Cryptesthesia," though one of its forms is often called psychometry. The reading of sealed documents, the contents of which are not known to anyone present, is perhaps the simplest or most easily cited example of this faculty; and this is not the place to discuss how far this apparent clairvoyance is or is not another variety of mind-reading. Nor is it the place to consider the evidence for such a faculty. Suffice it to say that many serious investigators are convinced that such a faculty exists. The name "cryptesthesia" rather assumes that it is due to some hyper-activity of the organs of sense. But all admit that as yet we have no theory. At present we have to ascertain the facts and leave a theory to the future. Such a waiting attitude is a commonplace of Science. In the most modern Physics we are familiar with it, e. g. in the recently discovered Quantum, in the nature of Gravitation, and in our relations to the Ether generally. Facts may be known long before they are explained; and indeed a scientific explanation, even when attained, is never ultimate.

Other branches of psychic or metapsychic investigation are con-

nected with the *lucidity* of certain persons in a trance state, and the powers of the subconscious generally. It is found that occurrences elsewhere, or in the past, or occasionally even in the future, are thus somehow decipherable; as if access to wider knowledge, or to the knowledge of other persons, were open to the liberated personality of the entranced medium. Or, what seems to many investigators more likely, as if information were communicated by other intelligences through his or her bodily organism as through a kind of telephone. Some regard this phenomenon one way, some another, but all who have had adequate experience admit its reality as well as its extra-ordinary or supernormal character.

The nature of *inspiration* is another branch, in which not much progress has been made. The fact has always been recognized; for the theory we still can wait. No theory fortunately has been laid down *ex cathedra* on inadequate data. The inspiration of poets, the inspiration of saints and mystics, comes we know not how; we feel the vivifying breath of the spirit but we may not trace as yet its proximate source. The temptation is to treat the products of inspiration as oracular, which perhaps they are, and as infallible, which they are not. We must not attribute infallibility to anything that reaches us through a human channel, whether it be a Book or a Church or any other medium.

I would not draw an antithesis by objecting to the phrase "verbal inspiration," for surely the greatest poets are verbally inspired in the sense that what they have to say is perfectly expressed. We should study and reverence the great utterances; but it is superstitious folly to treat every utterance as of equal value. As Matthew Arnold eloquently urged, it is absurd and mechanical and illiterate to consider that every part of a book or of a literature is equally authoritative throughout. Indeed this is not done now save by those ultra conservative good people who dare not let go of their anchorage in the rising tide, and who cling pathetically to submerged rocks. Yet, read intelligently, ancient documents are full of value and evolutionary instruction, and of unconscious corroboration illustrative of psychic truths; and inspiration is a great reality, a geniune avenue to truth, a beneficent fount which may grow and be of more and more service to us as time goes on and we become more receptive.

Other psychic phenomena, familiar enough as to the facts, but obscure in their theory, are those associated with Sleep and Dreams, which may be ranked among the minor activities of the subconscious.

And lastly, and chiefly, the phenomenon of Death. It is perhaps principally in connection with the subject of death that the present outcome of Psychical Research appears to be in conflict with traditional beliefs that have come down to us as portions of religious faith.

Psychical Research is primarily an enquiry, and as such has no creed. But it has established the reality and truth of the phenomena which at present we group under Hypnotism, Telepathy, and Clairvoyance; while most of the investigators have gradually become convinced that existence is continuous, that death is not the end; or, in popular phraseology, that man is an immortal being.

It may be said that that is no new discovery, that nearly every form of Religion has held it, that it is a prime article of faith. Quite true, but it has not been till lately an article of scientific knowledge. It has been accepted as an article of faith, it has not been proven,—not proven, that is, for the generality of mankind. The proof involves the definite assertion that those whom we call "the dead" or "the departed" have not only in some sense survived, but that they are still more or less in touch with us, and that occasionally they are able to demonstrate their continued existence and interest by actual communication. This is not really new, so far as statements and examples go. Religious literature is full of supernormal communications. But the possibility has never been fully recognized, and has never been made use of as a comfort to the bereaved and as a means of obtaining information about the conditions of a future state. The beliefs of religious people on this subject are reverent but vague, so vague that the consolations legitimately derivable from knowledge are not forthcoming. For all practical purposes, the dead might as well be extinct.

But by psychic investigations, it is held, not only the existence, but the activities of the "dead" have been demonstrated; and the power of inter-communion has been shown to be a fact. This may be discredited. Not every investigator is yet convinced. The fact—if it be a fact—is a great one; and its complete demonstration takes time. I am sure that continued enquiry will demonstrate it to the full. Meanwhile it is quite legitimate to hold a different opinion. Belief is not to be coerced; nor should one who has been convinced by direct experience feel unduly impatient to convince others. Truth will make its way; he that believeth need not make haste; in quietness and confidence should be our strength.

The phenomena cannot be considered new; they have been ap-

prehended by serious individuals in many stages of the world's development. Some of them were not unknown to Plato and to Virgil. I am told by scholars that Plotinus, that great Neoplatonist, was acquainted with many of them, and was not unprepared to assimilate them into his mystic philosophy. From time to time they have attracted a recrudescence of attention. John Wesley was at one time impressed with their reality; and the quondam physicist Swedenborg developed them in his own person so extensively as practically to overcloud his physics. Within the memory of a few still living the subject was as it were reborn, and forced into public attention, partly in America, partly in Britain, in the teeth of much ridicule and some virulent opposition, and under circumstances which seemed at the time very damaging.

Still the phenomena occurred, and in the year 1882, under the influence and the enthusiasm of Sir William Barrett, F. W. H. Myers, Edmund Gurney, and others at Cambridge, who succeeded in enlisting the interest and judicial calm of Professor Henry Sidgwick, and a few other distinguished men,—a definite Society was founded for the purpose of examining whether any truth underlay all these assertions, and of studying every variety of obscure human faculty, so as if possible to sift out the trustworthy evidence from what might be baseless assertion and superstition, and so gradually to put the thing on a careful and scientific basis.

The popular notion about this Society is that it was founded to establish scientifically the actuality of human survival. That might or might not be the outcome of the Society's work; but that was not the object with which it was founded. There were certainly facts about human personality, one of which was Hypnotism, which, though it had long been under a cloud, was beginning to be recognized by the medical profession; and it seemed likely enough that there were others which could be brought to book, and either established or discarded, if the attempt were made to examine the evidence without prepossession and with critical care.

The English S. P. R. was not the only Society established for investigation, though it seems to have been the first of the permanent ones. In 1884 a Society for Psychical Research was initiated in America, mainly by Sir William Barrett, for the purpose of advancing psychical research in America in co-operation with the English Society. Professor Simon Newcomb was the first President; and the Officers and Council included: Professor G. Stanley Hall of Balti-

more, Professor Fullerton of Philadelphia, Professor Pickering, Dr. H. P. Bowditch, and Dr. C. S. Minot, all of Harvard University; also Professor William James, Professor G. F. Barker, and others. In 1890 this Society was, by its own request, converted into a Branch of the English Society; Dr. Richard Hodgson acting as the Secretary and Treasurer, and Professor William James and Professor S. P. Langley as an Advisory Committee. In 1905 Dr. Hodgson died, and in the following year the Branch was dissolved, the majority of its members being transferred to the English Society. Dr. Hyslop then formed an independent organization, the present American Society for Psychical Research.

The aim of the British Society, and presumably also of the American, was a study of human personality, and all its possibilities; one of those possibilities being the survival of bodily death, towards belief in which, as an established scientific fact, several of the individual founders and workers in the Society gradually drifted, as is particularly emphasized in the standard Treatise written by Myers towards the end of his life, and published after his death under the title *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death.*

This last, however, was a deduction from the facts which was not universally acceptable even by those who entered on the study seriously. Many of the Continental workers to this day refrain from giving assent to this conclusion as a deduction from the facts; while yet they have no doubt that the facts themselves are well established. A few still find themselves able to adhere to a materialistic view of the universe in spite of them. Others there are whom the evidence has convinced that survival of bodily death is a true deduction, and these have been led to infer, as established on a basis of strict evidence, what Myers called "the preamble of all religions," viz. the existence of a spiritual world. These have maintained that the facts could only be explained, (if such in the present state of knowledge can be called an explanation), by the postulate of an interaction between spirit and matter far wider than is exhibited by the ordinary existence and normal behaviour of humanity, and have been led to the conclusion that what was being unearthed was nothing less than the opening of a new volume in Science, and the discovery of a whole new world of beings, unfamiliar to us and unrecognized by the normal senses, who yet under certain conditions are able to interact with matter and to produce by their activity and latent powers results beyond the ordinary capacity of man.

That such a conclusion is absurd or impossible cannot be rationally held. We know too little about the universe to make assertions of that character, far too little to make an absolute denial of what is possible. The human senses, which we share with the animals, tell us a certain amount about the universe; but they are very limited in scope. Science deals with a multitude of inferences beyond the direct apprehension of the senses. By the senses alone, however aided by instruments, we should never have arrived at the structure of the atom. While as for the Ether of Space, it is so elusive, intangible and insensible to human faculty, that it is quite possible to doubt its existence. What we know is that mind and matter do interact, that life does make use of material particles to display itself; and what other capacities it may have, whatever other physical manifestations may be within its power, we can only ascertain by scrupulous and long-continued investigation.

One of the faculties which seem to have been put on a firm foundation by the labours of the S. P. R. is the previously unrecognized faculty of telepathy, the action of mind on mind apart from the ordinary organs of sense. A brain-muscle mechanism is needed to display it; indeed, without such mechanism, no manifestation is possible. But the process itself seems independent of the mechanism, and seems likely to continue even when the mechanism has been discarded. Thus telepathy alone, if its reality can be admitted, seemed a great stride in the direction of rendering survival of mental activity apart from the body, with continued memory and character and personality reasonably possible.

But many of the investigators have gone far beyond that. Human faculty in their view is not limited to mental impressions. Many physical phenomena are also asserted to occur in the presence of certain individuals. Physiological phenomena have been observed, which seem to enlarge the known possibilities of living organisms; and the existence of a protoplasmic material, which can take on shapes akin to that of the body, and can produce the motion of pieces of matter not in contact with the normal body, is, especially by Continental observers, maintained. It is further held by some that the personality of some exceptional individuals is not limited to the manipulation of their normal bodily organisms, but can reach out to a distance, abandoning the organism for a time, say, during trance, somewhat after the same fashion as it may abandon it permanently at death; and thus can re-act on organisms, obtain and give informa-

tion, and produce physical results at a distance, to a surprising and and otherwise inexplicable and incredible extent. By such means it is held that communion with the departed is possible, and that personalities not now associated with the flesh can still occasionally interact with the organism, and that by their aid, or with the help of that hypothesis, many otherwise inexplicable phenomena can be regarded in a rational, and ultimately it is hoped in a truly scientific, light.

The first step undoubtedly is to make sure of the facts, but the assimilation and recognition of facts is always aided by some kind of working hypothesis. To admit the facts is one thing; to consider the hypothesis as verified is another. Those who, from long habit and lifelong study of orthodox science, feel such a hypothesis to be wild and unpalatable, find it safest to deny the facts. Others there are, however, equally hostile to the spiritistic hypothesis, who yet feel constrained to admit the facts as the result of direct observation.

Some of these facts—if for the moment on legitimate authority I am allowed to call them facts—are violently incredible, especially those which deal with ectoplasmic formations of a physiological and yet temporary character. Such facts must seem especially repellent to a physiologist. Yet eminent physiologists, like Charles Richet of the University of Paris, feel constrained on the evidence to admit them. The subject has grown too large for contemptuous denial; we have not exhausted the possibilities of the universe; strange things do undoubtedly occur. Whether among those strange things we can reasonably include Materialisations, Dematerialisations, and what are called *Apports,* I prefer to leave an entirely open question.

To many members of the S. P. R. the difficulty of admitting physical and physiological phenomena has been so great as to make them withhold their favourable judgment in every possible case; and in their examinations they have taken such stringent precautions that they may sometimes have succeeded in making them as impossible as they appear. Nevertheless individuals, one after the other, have succumbed to the evidence; and there is a growing body of opinion among the workers that, not only the mental phenomena, but some of the physical and physiological occurrences, will turn out to be realities. I, for instance, venture to assert that objects can be moved beyond the range of the normal body and without any ordinary contact; though whether that fact (like the mental phenomena of tele-

pathy, the resuscitation of memory, the communication with other personalities,) has any bearing on the question of human survival, is a matter on which dogmatism would be inappropriate. Yet it is not irrational to suppose that all these things are connected, and that when we have the clue (which we have not at present) we shall find them all fitting into their places in a rational and comprehensive scheme,—although it is a scheme far outside and beyond the confines of present day orthodox science, and although much patience and perseverance may be necessary, for several generations, before a reasonable theory is worked out.

III

A Working Hypothesis for Psychical Research

I venture to think that if a University takes a subject up, in addition to scrutiny of facts and past records, it is desirable to have a working hypothesis, with which to attempt to lay the foundation for a theory of the phenomena, both psychical and physical. Both are the result of an interaction between mind and matter, the theory of which has been an age-long problem in Philosophy; and my view is that the mechanism of this interaction will not be solved or understood until the universal connecting medium, the Ether of Space, is taken into full account.

Consider first psycho-physical phenomena. They appear to be operated through the intermediation of a material substance, of an organized or protoplasmic character, drawn from the body, and temporarily used both for exerting force on material objects, and for moulding into certain shapes, giving the appearance of the semi-physiological structures called materialisations. There is good evidence, though perhaps not complete proof, that ectoplasmic structures can be seen and handled; sometimes seen but not touched, sometimes touched but not seen; and that these structures can imitate hands and faces, or limbs, or even complete portions of bodies, and can exert force so as to move inert material objects, in obedience to requests, and with signs of intelligence.

Whether the control is exercised by the unconscious mind of the entranced medium, or by some other intelligence, is an open question; but if the facts be granted (at any rate provisionally) we clearly have to ask how this control over matter is exercised, and we are thrown back upon the prior and ancient question of how our own control over matter is exercised. We ourselves have a permanent proto-

plasmic organism which can do all these things and more. My hypothesis is that normally we do not act on matter directly, but indirectly through the ether. We are familiar with this kind of action through the ether in electrical, magnetic, and optical experiments, all of which are performed in that way. A magnet does not act on a piece of iron directly, but modifies the ether in its neighbourhood, so that the action is exerted. Similarly a gravitational field is an etherial phenomenon, and causes bodies to move towards the earth in the familiar way. Again the action of the sun on the earth, to which we owe nearly all terrestrial energy, is conducted through the ether—by the agency in that case of light or radiation. Furthermore chemical affinity and cohesion are all of a concealed electrical nature. We have learnt that no atom is in contact with any other atom, nor are the parts of an atom in contact with each other; they are united or connected by a medium, and all force is exerted through the connecting medium. It seems to me probable that this idea should be extended to mind, and that when we move our limbs, or other bodies in contact with those limbs, we should suppose that we are exerting the force indirectly through some mental modification of the ether. In other words, I assume that mind is directly connected with, and (so to speak) inhabits, the ether, and thus performs the operations to which we are accustomed; it would then be less difficult to admit that thus also these unusual ones are effected for which we are beginning to collect evidence.

It may be a difficult hypothesis, for which there is at present less than adequate foundation; but so far as I know it is the only one in the field, and until it is disproved it is worth following up and using as a clue. The material called ectoplasm cannot be acting by itself; it must be inert like any other form of matter, just like our own muscles. Nevertheless the muscles are obedient to our will, are subject to intelligent control, the stimulus of which, though communicated through our nerves, is conveyed to them somehow from the central ganglia in the brain and nervous system. There is, however, an unexplored gap in the process, the gap between mind and brain, or between mental activity and nerve centres, about which we are still in the dark. If it should turn out to be a fact that mind inhabits and acts upon an etherial organism or etheric body, through which matter is got at and moved, the problem is not solved, but is pushed one step further back,—which indeed is a characteristic of all physical explanations. We know that ether and matter interact.

We must assume that mind and ether interact, and that this last interaction is of a closer and more fundamental kind than any indirect action between mind and matter.

Furthermore, when we come to consider more purely psychic phenomena, such as telepathy, clairvoyance, and the like, we are not so obviously, but still as really, faced with some mental action on matter, since these phenomena can only be testified to by speech or writing, or in some other mechanical way. Telepathy may be a direct action between mind and mind; but it is only displayed and made manifest when it also acts upon a brain and nerve mechanism, so that the thought is reproduced and information given through our vocal or other muscles, and received through our normal sense organs. The problem is therefore not different in character, only different in appearance, from other psycho-physical manifestations. The root of the problem, in this case, is whether there is any direct connection between mind and mind apart from an etherial connecting medium. It may be that in this case also mind and mind communicate through the ether.

Such a guess has often been made and often discarded; but it may have been discarded prematurely. If our real existence is definitely and inseparably connected with the ether, it is clear that we have thereby a physical kind of connection, which may or may not be utilized, but which needs exploration. If ever it should be proved that mind acts on matter through the ether, we may have to extend that and find that mind acts on mind through the ether. Whatever doubt exists about psycho-physical phenomena hardly applies to the connection between mind and mind. The normal method of communication is through the physical organisms of the two people concerned, as by speech or writing. We do not understand that process, we have only grown accustomed to it. It is evidently an indirect and roundabout process; but the discovery of telepathy shows that there is some more direct process of communication; and sooner or later we must ask how the idea or thought is conveyed, and what the action of mind on mind really means.

The evidence is already strong, and is growing in bulk and cogency, that we are in communication with minds which are discarnate, that is minds which have been deprived of their normal bodily material mechanism. But it does not at all follow that they have been deprived of their etheric bodies, by which presumably they communicate with each other, and occasionally, under exceptional circum-

stances, with us. Telepathy from the discarnate, if established, proves that matter is not concerned in the process, at least at the sending end, though matter is involved in the demonstration of the action to us. It may be that there is some direct psychic activity which we do not understand; but the hypothesis that the psychic and the physical are always connected or interrelated, and that the discarnate still have etheric bodies, through which they conduct all their activities, is growing in strength, and has to be faced. If we find that our own normal activities are really conducted in precisely the same way, that is if we find that the incarnate are acting directly through the ether, and that in that way we have constructed and work the mechanism of our own bodies, then the further step will not be so difficult.

We must not lose ourselves in hypotheses, but must be guided by the facts. At the same time the facts are more assimilable if we have a thread on which to string them. And the view that the ether is not only a physical connecting medium, but is also the habitation of mind and spirit, and that in terms of that connection all else will have ultimately to be understood, is one that growingly commends itself to me. Many facts can be adduced in support of it; I am not aware of any that definitely contradict it. That, however, is a subject for future study; and I commend the consideration of this hypothesis in detail to any University Faculty which enters upon the difficult task.

Normanton House,
Lake,
Salisbury,
Wilts, England.

CHAPTER II

THE PSYCHIC QUESTION AS I SEE IT

By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

I am sorry not to be present in person at your gathering, for every enquiry into Psychic matters excites my deep sympathy and interest. I consider it to be infinitely the most important thing in the world, and the particular thing which the human race in its present state of development needs more than anything else. Nothing is secure until the religious basis is secure, and that spiritualistic movement with which I am proud to be associated is the first attempt ever made in modern times to support faith by actual provable fact.

I would first state my credentials, since my opinion is only of value in so far as those are valid. In 1886, being at that time a materialist, I was induced to examine psychic phenomena. In 1887 I wrote a signed article in "Light" upon the question. From that time I have never ceased to keep in touch with the matter by reading and occasional experiment. My conversion to the full meaning of spiritualism was a very gradual one, but by the war time it was complete. In 1916 I gave a lecture upon the subject, and found that it gave strength and comfort to others. I therefore determined to devote all my time to it, and so in the last ten years I have concentrated upon it, testing very many mediums, good and bad, studying the extensive literature, keeping in close touch with current psychic research, and incidentally writing seven books upon the subject. It is not possible that any living man can have had a much larger experience. When I add that I am a Doctor of medicine, specially trained in observation, and that as a public man of affairs I have never shown myself to be wild or unreasonable, I hope I have persuaded you that my opinion should have some weight as compared with those opponents whose contempt for the subject has been so great that it has prevented them from giving calm consideration to the facts.

When the heavy hand of the mediæval church had ceased to throttle man's mental activities, there set in a fierce reaction against

all that had been taught. In this reaction much that was good was swept away as well as much that was questionable. Not only did many unreasonable dogmas and ceremonies suffer, but the very idea of invisible beings, communicating with or taking an interest in our human life, became a fairy tale. The Reformers wrought more ruin than they had planned, for presently the enfranchised thinkers destroyed all that was left. Hume, Gibbon, Tom Payne, Voltaire, and a line of writers who culminated in the Huxleys and Ingersolls of the Victorian era, cleared the whole universe of psychic power and left it a mere clockwork mechanical wonder swinging in a vast vacuo, with no sign of intelligence outside our own pigmy brains. Such is the conception which a large part of civilized humanity, and especially of the part which labels itself as scientific, still retains.

But meanwhile a separate line of thought and experience had always existed, undisturbed by the waxing flood of materialism. It was the belief in the Unseen, depending not upon faith but upon happenings which were inexplicable save on the supposition of Intelligences, high and low, apart from ourselves. There were the incessant rumours of ghosts and visions, the curious experiences of mystics, the phenomena of mediæval witchcraft, such definite hauntings as those recorded in the house of John Wesley, the inexplicable mircales of the Saints. All these combined presented a formidable body of evidence radically opposed to the conclusions of the materialists, but they were vague and fluid. Suddenly in the inexplicable way in which Providence works they all concentrated and challenged the attention of the world in the shackhouse of a peasant in the north of New York State. It was strange and rather sordid, but so for that matter was a carpenter's Son in a manger. Divine values are not as ours. The moment had come when religious revelation was to be shifted from the East to the West, from the Jew to the Anglo-Saxon. It is true that America was, and is, unaware of the vital change, but it is also true that Palestine has never been a Christian country.

What occurred is an oft-told tale, and I need not repeat it to you at length. In itself it was trivial. In its results it will rank, according to my belief, amidst the greatest advances of the human race into the darkness which surrounds it. The facts are clear enough for anyone who has a sense of evidence, which is by no means a universal gift. By material signs, directed by invisible intelligence, information was given of a crime which had been, as was

afterwards confirmed, actually committed. The little band of villagers, who spent most of the night of March 31st, 1848, in examining the facts, and who promptly published the result of their examination, did the finest bit of psychic research work that has ever been carried through. It was thoroughly satisfying and convincing. From that time the human race had definite proof within their reach that it was really possible to pierce the veil of death and to establish communication between separate planes of existence. If anyone differs from my conclusions, I would only say that it is unlikely that he has read the pamphlet entitled "A Report on the Mysterious Noises heard in the house of Mr. John D. Fox," since it is extremely rare, and that if he does read it he will find that it bears out what I say.

The single fact is, as I have said, trivial, but the inferences are enormous. If indeed it be true that the discarnate can draw a latent power from our human bodies which they can use in order to impress our senses, then why should it stop at the low level of a murdered pedlar? May it not be used to reunite all the bonds which Death may break? More important still, might it not be used to get into touch with higher sources of wisdom from which we may gain light and teaching to aid us in understanding those problems of our being which have become so difficult that many have despaired of a solution? That was the tremendous possibility which had opened up before the human race.

And slowly, gradually, impeded at every step by human obstacles, it is reaching that goal. It has done so completely in the case of tens of thousands. It is doing it partially throughout the community. The main obstacles have been, first, religious obstruction and prejudice aroused by the fear that old standards will be abolished. These fears have seemed to be justified by the wild utterances of some excited brains over-stimulated by the new wine of revelation. But this is now passing away, and it is realized that spiritualism has come not to destroy, but to clarify, regulate and make broader and more reasonable the old conceptions of Christianity by recognizing that cosmic Christ spirit which has descended in various forms and degrees to all the nations of the earth. It is becoming a common platform of knowledge upon which all earnest men can meet. Secondly, there comes the opposition from Science. This arises largely from those scientific men who have not looked into the matter—"it does not interest me," said Huxley, when asked to

examine it. Of those who *have* looked into it the vast majority have found the facts to be unassailable. Among those who have completely admitted both the physical phenomena and the spirit inferences are: Sir Oliver Lodge, the father of wireless; Russel Wallace, the confrère of Darwin; Crookes, the discoverer of six elements; Lombroso, the famous alienist; Sir William Barrett, the physicist; Professor Hare of America, and a host of others. Another array of names could be given of those who have satisfied themselves as to the phenomena, but refuse to commit themselves entirely to the spirit explanation. This includes such men as Charles Richet, Professor of Physiology at Paris, Dr. Geley, Dr. Schrenck-Notzing, Professor William James, and others. Most of these men are prepared to admit from their own experience that a materialised figure independent of the company, can walk the room, talk and perform intelligent actions. How such a figure can be differentiated from a spirit is a mystery to those who are endowed with less subtle understandings.

The names mentioned above are those of scientists, but if we were to inscribe those distinguished people in other ranks of life who have experienced and fully accepted the proofs of this spiritual intercourse, my paper would exceed all bounds. It would include not only a long list of the greatest names in Europe, Thiers, President of the French Republic, Victor Hugo, Sardou and others, but it would especially interest Americans as including the illustrious Abraham Lincoln, who at the very crisis of the American Civil War held counsel with unseen beings who guided him on the road which led to national safety. A well-documented account of the incident is to be found in Mrs. Maynard's book, "Was Lincoln a Spiritualist?". Among other great Americans who have in recent years been affected by the evidence are Professor Hyslop of Columbia University, Luther Burbank, the famous magician of the fruit farm, and finally, through the teaching and example of the latter, the great Edison, who admits that his change of view with regard to future life is due to Burbank's philosophy.

It is as well, perhaps, that advance has been slow, though 78 years is but a trifle in the vast journey of human progression. Every step must be carefully tested. If one false crumbling stone be built into a column, every superimposed stone is in danger of becoming a mere waste of time and energy, erected upon a faulty base. There are, admittedly, some stones in the structure of Spiritualism as it is

at present presented which may be rejected, but there are others which are strong and true.

The weaker side of Spiritualism lies in the fact that its adherents have largely been drawn from the less educated part of the community. The responsibility, of course, lies with the educated class who have not played their part. But the result has been to bring about a presentment of the philosophy which has often repelled earnest minds, and in no way represents its true scope and significance. Again, there has been no systematic cultivation of the gift of mediumship—this also being the fault of the community and the law; with the result that it has often fallen into unworthy hands and been exercised for purely utilitarian and worldly motives. This holds good, so far as my experience goes, rather for America than for Britain, but in a degree it applies to both.

Again, a retinue of rogues have been attracted to the Movement by the fact that séances have been largely held in the dark when the object has been to produce physical phenomena. This has served as a screen for villainy, and the effect has been increased occasionally by the systematic use of conjurors' apparatus. When such fraud has been discovered it has naturally come before the police courts and has been reported in the papers, while the successful work of the honest medium gets no public notice. Hence an entirely false view has been built up of the proportion of true to false. But the fault lies, to some extent, with the Spiritualists, as had they insisted upon the use of at least a red light at their séances these would have been less easy for rogues. It is true that this would have been done at the cost of a loss of power, for darkness *is* conducive to results, but none the less I think that smaller phenomena with security are better than larger ones with a danger of scandal.

It is, however, upon the side of organized Science that the chief fault lies if the general acceptance of the new knowledge has been slow. The reasons for this hesitation are complex. Science has always accustomed itself to think that results can be standardized, and that, given the same apparent conditions and factors, the same effects can always be evolved. It has suddenly been faced by a proposition where this no longer holds good, where there are invisible factors which we cannot control, and where such mental conditions as harmony and sympathy on one side, or suspicion and aversion on the other, may make or mar the results. Many scientists could never reconcile themselves to the idea that the results

are obtained, not *by* the medium but *through* the medium, and that simply to seat him in a chair and blame him or the spiritualistic philosophy when results did not follow was to ignore the very essence of the problem which they were examining. These unusual conditions repelled many scientific men at the very outset of their psychic studies, and they prefererd to ascribe gross credulity to their brother scientists, or extraordinary conjuring powers to the innocent medium, rather than blame their own want of perception as to the true conditions of such an investigation. It is true that of those who did contrive to probe these matters the vast majority were persuaded of the validity of the supernormal phenomena, but however distinguished in quality they were never numerous enough to outweigh those who had either judged the question without examination, or had been repelled in the manner described. To this we must add the fact that the prejudice against the question was so strong that an Academic Career might even now be seriously affected by acquiescence in psychic truth. Scientific men are brave and unselfish, but they are human, and such a consideration cannot be altogether ignored. It would not be difficult to mention cases where men of science have joined in an investigation of psychic claims in a light-hearted manner, imagining that an exposure of them would be easy; but upon finding that the evidence presented to them entailed not an exposure but an acceptance they have hurriedly withdrawn without any attempt to give an explanation of their own experience, save, perhaps, vague innuendoes of fraud against the unfortunate medium, neither sex nor social position being a protection.

At first it would appear as if the separation between strict orthodox science, which allowed of no deviation from established standards of truth, and this new unorthodox development was complete and unbridgeable. Gradually, however, two points have been discovered which make a nexus between them, and these two will probably lead to many more in the future. There is really an immense amount of valid evidence, and it needs only the constructive brain to harmonise, organise and build up working hypotheses. At present I will examine the two different lines of approach.

The first is Telepathy—or the impressions produced by mind upon mind when the one is in some subtle undefined way attuned to the other. Here lie the points where the metals of psychic exploration form a branch line which runs off from the great main trunk of material science. The existence of Telepathy has been so well

established, largely through the labours of Myers, Gurney and other members of the Psychic Research Society of England, that it has been accepted by many scientists who still look askance at psychic phenomena. Indeed it is used in very many arguments as being in some vague way an explanation of those phenomena. But in itself it constitutes a complete departure from the materialism of the Victorian era. If it be indeed possible for mind to affect mind at a distance, then clearly the functions of matter are not so circumscribed as we had imagined. I cannot easily forget my own surprise when I found by experiment that I could induce a person sitting with his back turned to me to draw the same simple diagram which I drew myself. I could not reconcile it with the purely materialistic views which I then held, and I can see as I look back that it was indeed my first step into the unknown. If two incarnate minds, without a visible material connection, can impress each other, then admitting that personality exists after death, it would not seem so utterly unthinkable that a discarnate mind might also have the same power. If this be granted, then we vaguely see a rationale lying behind automatic writing, trance-talking and other psychic phenomena.

The second nexus which science is building up with psychic phenomena lies in the explorations of ectoplasm, which have been largely conducted by scientific observers who were not spiritualists, and who had no preconceptions and no emotional element in their search for truth. It is not within the scope of such a paper as this to detail what the observations and conclusions have been of such men as Charles Richet (who coined the word 'ectoplasm'), Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing, Dr. Geley, Professor Crawford and other observers, of whom Madame Bisson is not the least competent. They have among them fully and finally established the existence of this extraordinary substance, which exactly corresponds to the plastic material evolved from vapour, continually described by the early spiritualists as being the physical basis of their phenomenal séances. If any one doubts that its existence has been clearly established, let me remind him that three years ago Dr. Schrenk-Notzing demonstrated ectoplasm to one hundred picked observers, which included Professors of Jena, Giessen, Heidelberg, Munich, Tübingen, Upsala, Freiburg, Basle and other universities, together with a concourse of famous physicians, neurologists and *savants* of every sort. This assembly endorsed the fact that they had seen beyond doubt final proofs of the existence of ectoplasm. So also Dr. Geley gave a demonstration in

Paris to forty picked observers, editors of papers, members of the Senate and other notables, with the same result. It is now mere obscurantism to pretend that such results can be ignored, and though they still leave much to be explained they do, so far as they go, afford a common ground where the man of science and the spiritualist can meet. It should be remarked that among other points which investigation has established, there is none more certain than that ectoplasm, this half-psychic, half-material product, is dissipated and destroyed by the actinic rays. This completely explains and justifies the procedure of the spiritualists in holding their séances in the dark, though for prudential reasons, as already explained, they might be wiser to insist upon red light which is the luminant most easily borne by this sensitive substance.

What is needed now is a clear definition and consolidation of that which we know, so that we may have a firm base from which to begin our explorations into the unknown. At present every fresh investigator seems to start on the assumption that there has been no investigator before him, and so the alphabet has to be learned over again. No man has a right to be a member of any Committee of Investigation upon so profound a subject until he has put in at least a year of study and a course of reading which should include Crawford's three books of his researches, Richet's "Thirty Years of Psychic Investigation", Myers' "Human Personality", Schrenck-Notzing's volume on materialization, and Sir William Crookes' "Researches". People must realize that there is a Science, that there are laws, and that it is as absurd to approach it *de novo* as it would be for a tyro with no chemical knowledge to endeavour to test some chemical problem in a laboratory.

I trust that I have stated the case in a way which has not too violently opposed the opinions of my audience. I have confined myself chiefly to the scientific aspects. I should, however, be false to my knowledge and my convictions if I did not state in conclusion that I consider all this work of experimental psychic research, though very useful and necessary, to be a sort of super-materialism which may approach, but does not reach the real heart of the subject. That heart is in my opinion a purely religious one. The ultimate aim of the whole movement is to afford earnest minds in this age of doubt and stress some method of gaining a knowledge of our duties and our destiny which shall be disassociated from outworn observances and conflicting faiths, so that by actual contact with intelligences which

are above our own we may pick our path more easily amid the morass of Religion. The ultimate result will be the union of Science with Religion, and such an increase of inspired knowledge as will lift humanity on to a higher plane and send it reassured and comforted upon its further journey into the unknown.

15, Buckingham Palace Mansions, S. W.
London, England.

Abbey House,
2, Victoria Street,
Westminster,
London, S. W. 1,
December 11, 1926.

Dr. Carl Murchison,
Clark University,
Worcester, Massachusetts.

Dear Sir:

Professor Jastrow is credited in the papers with two assertions about my views which are inaccurate. The one is that I have shown photographs (psychic) which were not genuine. This is entirely untrue. Of all the photographs I have shown (hundreds in number) the only one I ever showed which was questioned was one I showed with reservations at the time *once* in New York. Dr. Prince assured me that it was not reliable and as it was from an American source I took his word and withdrew it. I challenge Professor Jastrow to mention any other photograph of mine which has not held its own.

As to his story that the fairy photographs of Cottingley were taken from a magazine what he must mean is that they were *reproduced* in a magazine. Otherwise his statement has no sense at all. The photographs have met all criticism, the honesty of the young girls has been vindicated, and every expert who has examined the negatives has testified to their reality. It is Dr. Jastrow who shows extraordinary credulity in accepting such stories. As to his attack on Richet—well!

Yours sincerely,
(*Signed*) A. Conan Doyle.

CHAPTER III

THE PRAGMATIST IN PSYCHIC RESEARCH

By Frederick Bligh Bond

Every man commencing a specialised line of research must adopt a working hypothesis however simple as a guide to his experimental work. He must inevitably begin by laying down certain postulates, derived either from observation or from intuitive recognition. They may be matters of personal faith. But they must be such as will best cover the facts as he knows them. The working hypothesis he must be ready to alter and extend as his facts accumulate, or even to discard altogether if needed, without regard for his preferences. He must seek positive conclusions and beware of building upon any other. He must never generalise from negative results. At all stages he must be fortified by fact. An ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory; the establishing of one indubitable case of an affirmative nature will, in theory, eliminate all negative conclusions. But in practice the superior value of cumulative evidence must always be borne in mind.

Pragmatism has been defined as a school of philosophic thought which emphasizes practical consequences as tests for determining truth of philosophic conceptions. It claims that all thought is purposive and personal and that no knowledge is determined exclusively by abstract considerations. This philosophy is connected with Religion as justifying the will to Believe. *Humanism* is defined as the application of the pragmatic method to all the sciences.*

I propose to give a succinct account of those experiments in psychic research which have spread over the past nineteen years and have happily enabled me to construct a working hypothesis which seems to cover all the facts. I have applied the pragmatic method to demonstrate the permanence and indestructibility of *Mind, Memory,* and *Personality* or *Character,* together with the independence of Mind and its direct action upon Matter. From my experiments I have deduced a philosophy which differs only from

*Stokes, Encycl. 1914 ed.

the tenets of the Pragmatists as above defined in that I find that all Thought is *not* personal in the individual sense, but may be collective; and that this collective Thought is the vehicle of a more comprehensive Intelligence responsive to the sympathetic action of the group of lesser unitary intelligences which function collectively as its vehicle.

This hypothesis admits of the perfect co-ordination of individual minds and wills acting in attunement, to the control of super-mind. It gives a new and wider meaning to the phrase *esprit de corps*. Human organizations for various ends, religious, social, political, if functioning with harmony of aim and method, are apt to generate an intrinsic over-ruling spirit which is stronger by far than the reflection of itself in its individual units. Yet in proportion as the component individuals bend their will and mentality to the Purpose of the organization, so do they not only vivify the Spirit of the Group, or Genius of that organization, but they receive each one a characteristic reinforcement *without the loss of their own proper personality but rather with gain thereto.*

It is but the law of individual man's complex personality acting through a more extended order of being. The monadic theory of Leibnitz, which affirms a complex structure for the mind or personality of the individual, has its analogies everywhere in Nature from the chemical atom to the stellar nucleus, and, in human society, from the family up through more complex grades of association to the State, the Church, or the Nation. So may it well be with the personality of the individual. In that personality are elements of countless multitude and variety, racial, ancestral, personal also. Yet these are not to be regarded as necessarily his or her exclusive and inalienable possession. Some are loosely welded; some are not harmonious with others. There may indeed be sharp antagonism between them. In thinking otherwise—as if these elements were a true or permanent unit of individual being—lies the great heresy of the "subconscious mind" as popularly or vulgarly conceived. Let us extend the idea of multiple personality as shown in abnormal states of dissociation—as in the succession of diverse moods in the individual—and we get a view of the possibilities of change in grouping and in the development of character in an evolutionary sense which no other hypothesis seems to account for so rationally as does that which Leibnitz advanced.

The impress of a strong personality upon others in his environ-

ment can be well understood in the light of a sympathetic *sharing* of certain monadic constituents in the galaxy of each.

The nature of spiritualistic "guides" and "controls" is readily accounted for if we regard them as subconsciously members of the group—outlying members it may be—which is controlled primarily by the normal waking intelligence and will of the subject. That is to say, there is some link of mental, moral, or emotional sympathy subsisting between the subject and the controlling entity which is able to declare itself through the passive medium of the subliminal vehicle of association.

The way in which these remoter personal elements manifest themselves may be not inaptly compared to the radiations of human speech and music which after almost infinite attenuation may be picked up anywhere by a properly constituted receiver and again reinforced until their original power and character of tone is reproduced and actually amplified.

In Boston at Christmas I heard, loud and clear, across the whole breadth of the public gardens, a well known hymn beautifully played —as I thought—by a band on the further side. I was astonished to learn on the Monday that the band was playing some hundreds of miles away. The power of the original vibrations was multiplied fourfold in its penetrative quality, and without loss of delicacy or any essential quality or clearness.

It is not tenable then that through the all-enfolding vehicle of subliminal Mind and Memory there may come to our individual minds whispers from across the void which stretches between the moment of attention that we call the Present and that greater field of thought and experience which we term the Past? Can we not imagine how these tenuous links may be revived and amplified in their turn until the link becomes vivid and vital with the colours of reality?

The phenomena of telepathy, clairvoyance, psychometry, and the myriad other modes of communication will fall into their place as manifestations of that radiant activity of Mind which is ever impinging upon the structure of the brain and leaving its impress in the stimulation of creative Idea which, when once awakened in one mind, may be imparted to others capable of a kindred vibratory response.

If A and B are separate and discrete personalities, self-contained and mutually exclusive, it is impossible to conceive the nature of the

process by which Thought and Will are transferred from the one to the other across that barrier which, it is assumed, divides the two Egos. But if A and B are regarded as responsible heads of two complex organizations within each of which are members common to both and in sympathy with the policy and purpose of each, then we have a foundation in thought on which we can bridge the gulf of Personality.

Every individual who controls his psychic organization has a radiating influence and may attract to himself by sympathetic thought other monadic entities through the reinforcement of common subliminal elements of thought; just as the chemical atom may take up an extra ion or ions and harmonize their activities with those of its own group, changing its nature and general reactions through this accession. In like manner, we as personalities, makers of our souls, are in spiritual flux, absorbing parts of the personality of others and assimilating these with our own, thus tending to bring nearer to realization in ourselves the symmetrical fulfilment of an archetypal design of which our present personalities are but the merest outlines, sketches, crude and inchoate.

We now obtain a glimpse of a more intelligible foundation on which to build our ideas of that mysterious entity *the subliminal mind,* which has been so fruitful a source of misconception by hasty and shallow thinkers. There is still a tendency on the part of new recruits to psychical research to adopt this term as explanatory of all the obscure phenomena of a mental order in the various phases of mediumship. With these and also in the case of others who should know better, this hypothetical formula, which explains nothing and may mean anything, is held sufficient to elucidate all. It needs no discussion as it is in itself held to be an answer to all argument. From a mere formal hypothesis it has come to assume the authority of a dogma or article of faith.

Such superficial exponents of psychical facts are apt to look only at that class of phenomena for which the submerged memories and fugitive brain-impressions of the subject can offer a sufficient explanation. It is not denied that any impress once received by the mind or through the senses is permanently recorded by the brain and may be recalled later automatically or in a hypnotic or semi-hypnotic state. But the facts of psychometry or "metagnomy" in which the subject gleans knowledge from some mute object, as well as those attending clairvoyance, clairaudience, trance-speaking and automatic

writing, must be taken into account and these are not covered at all by the theory of latent impressions.

The Spiritist Hypothesis

The hypothesis which attributes all psychical phenomena to the action of "spirits"—that is to say, to discarnate human souls, is one which may legitimately be held by the scientific enquirer so far as it covers the facts observed. But it is open to certain objections, and although men of science will admit it as a working hypothesis they will continue to view it critically and will refuse to build upon it conclusions which outrun the evidence. Preference and prejudice must be equally set aside for in this enquiry there is room for neither. It is unfortunate that the spiritualist question has been disfigured by both. The subject must be handled dispassionately and without emotion, though from its very nature this may be far more difficult than in other branches of philosophical enquiry.

Why, we may ask, is it that men of standing in psychical or metapsychical learning will generally prefer any other theory to the spiritualistic? Perhaps Mr. Stanley de Brath is right in saying "It is an indolent hypothesis: it explains everything in advance, rules and exceptions alike . . . We need a hypothesis less falsified by moral considerations, by anxiety as to good and evil and by the needs of the heart." So far as this judgment implies that the investigator does not trust himself to discriminate between scientific values on the one hand and moral or emotional values on the other, it may be remarked that this implies no intrinsic objection to the spiritualist hypothesis as such. From the pragmatist point of view, the fact that the spiritualist theory should prove agreeable to the moral judgment and should satisfy the needs of the heart would be points in its favour.

But the spiritualist is always under suspicion from the man of science as using his hypothesis not as a working hypothesis merely but as a creed or faith, and without discrimination or exercise of the critical intellectual faculty. This repels the scientific mind and makes the qualified investigator shy of the approach. Also it must be borne in mind that for many of the phenomena of the seance-room there is no need to affirm the action of any "spirit"—even allowing the use of this questionable term where the activities of the "soul" are more obviously manifest. There is perpetual confusion here.

For some phenomena the animistic theory will cover the facts. For example, proofs of the presence of a psychic force capable of producing abnormal physical effects are no evidence of the survival or immortality of the soul, still less of the presence of "spirit." For others again the activity of a living human agent affords an explanation. To give an instance from my own experience: During a recent sitting for automatic writing in America the name of a person known to me, living in England, was written by the hand of the medium, with a number of humorous remarks relating to affairs in his native town in which I would be interested. The person in question was not in my thought at the time and his name was at first misspelled, but on identification of the surname, the whole signature was correctly written out in a form not unlike his own handwriting. Here the assumption is that the agent was asleep (it would have been about 3 a. m. in England) and was dreaming of me. He had wished early last year to take a trip to America and had told me of this.

To proclaim the "spiritualistic" doctrine in the indiscriminate way that some of the leaders of the movement do is but to create disgust in the minds of rational enquirers. The spiritualists moreover confuse purely psychical experience with spiritual values. Facts seeming to confirm the hypothesis are welcomed. Those of an inconvenient nature are blinked. The critical judgment is suspended and the needs of the heart become the sole warrant for the validity of their faith. The belief in "survival" is lauded as a religion and a "New Revelation" is found in the phenomena of the seance-room. On the tree of Spiritualism, says Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, all religions are grafted. Christianity itself is but one branch of that tree.

If this be so, the pragmatist will demand a proof of the presence of real spiritual values. Those of Christianity are recognized. They work out in daily life when rightly interpreted and practiced. Will spiritualism show fruits equal to these? Here the pragmatist comes in and says: "If your doctrine and practice make definitely for the mental and spiritual betterment of the race, and are acceptable equally to the intellectual and the moral judgment, then your theory confirms itself."

Unfortunately in some cases the spiritualist view and practice seem to deprive its adherents of self-reliance and render them too readily amenable to advice from the "spirits." It is also an easy

paregoric. The habit of intercourse on a commonplace and material level whilst dulling the sorrow of separation deprives life of some of its deepest emotional values, and by repetition, leaves the devotee of this form of intercourse less capable of true spiritual growth and effort. A. C. Benson has said, "The sorrow of earth would not be sorrow—it would have no cleansing power—if the parted spirit could return at once . . . To meet loss and sorrow upon earth without either comfort or hope is one of the finest of lessons . . . It is in the silence of death that its virtue lies."

To the habitual seeker after the dead, the capacity for poignant emotion is reduced to the level of the commonplace. He is on the path of that false consolation which is the comfort of the drug-taker.

A Philosophic Scheme of the "Subliminal"

I submit a brief outline of the philosophy which has emerged from my experience. The framing of the scheme has been assisted by many valuable hints given in automatic script during the years 1918-20. Practical experiment interweaves with the teaching and gives it substantial value. Certain principles have had to be postulated. These include a recognition of a tripartite constitution in Man: (1) his essential part—the spirit—linked with the causal Mind and Will; (2) the body and its vital forces; (3) the soul, a complex entity developed by spirit in its reactions upon the material part and variable in quantity and quality alike, controlled on the one hand by the spiritual monad and on the other hand exercising control over the body and its forces.

It is also postulated that the spiritual creative power which is God eternally seeks more perfect self-expression through His units and that He is in process of accomplishing this through increasing differentiation of those units and the gradual perfecting of experience in each one according to their individual modes, the highest mode known to us being the evolution of Character or Personality in the higher and more permanent sense.

I have found in the script the following classification of Energy which seems illuminating. I have added it to the working scheme. The Field of Evolution is the objective and subjective Universe alike. The agencies involved are three in number, viz:

(a). The Energy of Matter which is called the "Will of Matter" and which, by its resistance, provides the fulcrum for all the evolutionary effort of creative Will. This Energy has a spiritual

origin and although set in opposition, it will ultimately yield to the control of Mind and Spirit.

(b). The Energy of Life, which is psychic in its nature and is neither purely spiritual nor yet material in its quality, but has affinity with both these forms of energy. Life is not an entity but an impersonal principle.

(c). The Energy of Will, Mind, and Purpose, which is always an Entity. Mind is a function of Spirit, and is the vehicle of Creative Idea. Individual Man is the agent for the acquisition of progressive control over the agencies of Life and Matter; but there are higher agencies in Collective Mind which are in process of co-ordination and are becoming increasingly potent.

The Soul

It is by the evolution of this third part of Man's being through the interaction of the spiritual and material parts that the process of subjugation of Matter and Material Energies is brought about, for the perfect self-expression of Spirit. This Soul is complex in nature and variable in quality and quantity alike: It may be integrated with its spiritual Original, creating true Personality; or it may be disintegrated in part, forming false personality which may either be redeemed from extinction by becoming co-ordinated with another spiritual nucleus, or may be re-absorbed and dissolved into its constituent elements. The creative scheme knows no waste. Souls grow by accretion as well as by evolution of powers. They can be welded by co-ordination into companies or communions which, in their turn, become the vehicles for the activities of higher entities whose will and wisdom is collective and yet individual.

Objective Matter

We are to regard Matter in its objective aspect as superficies only;—a mere boundary or Plane of Resistance between two counteracting forces of Will. The first product of the operation of this conflict of Will in the living organism of Man is the development of the *Animal Soul.*

We now reach the point at which the general hypothesis can be stated in advance of the record of experiment.

(1). The powers and functions of the *Animal Soul* are chiefly witnessed in primitive peoples. In the higher-developed man they are submerged, but survive in a subconscious form. This *Animal*

Soul, or primitive psychic nature is but little individualised, and has more the quality of a group-soul, instinctive in its action.

(2). The second evolutionary product of the Causal Will in man is the *Material Intellect*. This makes for the sharp differentiation of individuals through contest. For a long while this intellectual principle is dominant in Man and under its sway the original psychic element becomes submerged, and is the subconscious recipient of all impressions derived from the intellectual life.

(3). The *Subconscious Entity* is not strictly personal, being essentially continuous with the whole psychic life of the Race and of Nature. It subsists in Man as an individual focus of that wider psychic life and is susceptible of impressions derived from that life —that is to say, from sources other than the personal intellect of the subject. The thought and emotion of the Race affect it constantly through sympathetic reaction and response.

The Subconscious as a Connective Medium

Man as an intellectual personality with a subliminal psychic stratum involved deeply in his being, is thus necessarily linked with all other intelligent personalities through the "continuum" of the subconscious Mind and it is only through this medium that he can obtain genuine recognition of any personality other than his own. Intellect has evolved a series of external symbols of recognition such as Language, Gesture, and other sensory modes of communication, but these convey no sense of reality except in so far as they can be recognized as genuine symbols of what they purport to represent. The concept of Reality in the contact of personalities is attained only through the subconscious region as the sole channel of spiritual awareness. In the external contacts alone resides no inherent sense of reality. This is the experience of those in whom the interior sense has for a time been closed and also of those in whom the interior sensibility is weak or undeveloped. In such it has led to the "solipsist" fallacy, and in a few circumstances, to a "logical" insanity.

(4). *Material Intellect* is now sufficiently evolved in its own domain to allow of a stimulating reaction towards the subconscious and a strengthening of the link between separated personalities by means of a reawakening of the latent psychic nature and its gradual elevation towards a union with the intellectual consciousness. This process is seen as a natural development in certain persons, and

it is marked by the dawning of a psychic consciousness and by the emergence of the link between their own true personality and that of others whose character or experience may bring them into sympathetic relation with their own.

(5). In such individuals, the growth in strength and in scope of the activities of their subconscious Entity, and its increase in definiteness and power of direction through the association with the Intelligent principle, begins to enable them to act through their subconscious region in a wider environment. Their mental and psychical activities are no longer limited to the physical body, but are capable of extension for a greater or lesser distance therefrom, both in a temporal and a spatial sense. It follows that with such persons the control of the psychic elements in their being is making for a greater mastery of their environment. The psychic entity is becoming plastic to the conscious Will.

(6). As the psychic Entity becomes more obedient and responsive it will also be more plastic to influences arising from other sources. In the absence of control or direction on the part of the normal or waking intelligence, it may be amenable to direction or control by any other personality which, through mental or emotional sympathy, may be nearly in relation to the subject influenced. Thus another mind may acquire temporary control and may speak or act through the psychic and physical organism by virtue of the common subconscious elements which form the sympathetic link.

(7). The power which enables one personality to manifest his presence by speech, writing, or otherwise through the subconscious being of another is dependent upon the degree of mental, emotional, or volitional sympathy which may subsist between them. In this respect the subliminal entity may be compared to the aerial of a wireless installation, and the physical side of the phenomenon will depend upon the right adjustment or attunement, and the due passivity of the brain and body of the medium or "subject."

(8). *Mind, Memory,* and *Character* being (ex hypothesi) superior to the physical limitations of Time and Space, it follows that the contact of personalities through the subliminal psychic region is by no means limited to those of the living, but is equally the privilege of those who have escaped the trammels of the bodily life.

(9). *Memory* is essentially an act of Spirit. It is not merely the mechanical impress or record on the physical brain of impulses arising from the daily life, but is essentially an act of recognition,

and of voluntary recognition. The Memory of a Personality, if sufficiently strong, is therefore an actual approach to the points of contact with that personality; and such approach may become the basis of a new mutual experience and association.

(10). The nexus or link between two or more separate personalities is effected through the subconscious psychic region, but the recognition is in itself an act of Spirit—of the higher Mind in the aspect of Consciousness of Reality or of Underlying Unity. The law of communion is Sympathetic Action and Reaction of Mind with Mind, Memory with Memory, and Character with Character.

The Trend of the New Co-ordination

The Science of the future is Psychic Science or the Science of the Soul. It may be defined as the exploration of the subliminal regions of Man's being in the light of his spiritual Reason, the Intellectual power illuminated by intuition. Its work is the harmonising and control of the powers and faculties of this part of his being by the dominant Reason and Intelligence. The task of its students will be to acquire conscious control of this region, to understand its laws, and to lay hold of the immense privileges it offers in an evolutionary sense. The promise is that our evolution as a community on earth will by this means be directed in a course controlled by a new co-ordinating power derived from the intuitive recognition of all that the Past can teach. The dynamic power of Thought and its yet undeveloped capacity for directly influencing Matter through the psychic channels of control will be a part of this task.

The need for the co-ordination of the psychic part of man with the intellectual is pressing. Only by the opening of the channels of Intuitive Wisdom—the realization of the higher and collective Knowledge which is the fruit of the racial experience—can the mass of present-day learning be unified, clarified, and built into a symmetric structure leading to further constructive achievement. The gifts of Higher Intelligence,—Genius, Inspiration, the assimilated Wisdom of the ages spiritually directed, can alone stabilize the fabric of our terrestrial knowledge and build our civilization that-is-to-be upon a permanent basis.

Underlying all must come the recognition of the spiritual Unity of Mankind. This recognition of Spiritual Unity, embodied in our philosophy of the Subconscious or Subliminal, and in our future Science of the Soul, decrees a humanistic foundation for all effort

and a constructive purpose which will inevitably ally itself more and more consciously with the evolutionary Plan of the Parent Mind.

Broadly speaking, therefore, I have arrived at the conclusion that the Subconscious part of us is personal only in a limited sense;* that it is more largely racial and ancestral; and that it is the field of innumerable contacts with Mind and Personality other than our own; these personalities impressing us through the subconscious by sympathetic mental or emotional action.

In this sense, which is that of a channel, it may be said that the subconscious strata of our being contain the germs of all personality, all human experience, the accumulated record of man's thought and work throughout the aeon of his racial life and development, and that any one of these clues may be strengthened or 'drawn home' by sympathetic action. It is a somewhat startling conclusion but it covers, I find, all the phenomena of mental life and psychic activities including those of the order known commonly as spiritualistic.

Further, the science of the future must, according to this view, take up the task of the Integration of the Subconscious with the Intellectual and this is the Building of the Soul.

One corollary of the view here advanced is that the sympathetic union and collective activity of Mind and Mind would be present in a far greater degree among those personalities who are no longer trammelled by the isolating influence of the physical organism, and the limitations of sensory and brain perception. In other words, Death of the body would imply increased freedom of association between the minds of those whose thought is in sympathetic accord. Hence we should except a collective voice and a collective memory as being characteristic of any communications from minds in the liberated spheres of human consciousness beyond bodily death. This is but an affirmation of what the Church has always implied in her doctrine of the Communion of the Saints, the Church Invisible, the great Cloud of Witnesses.

The Pragmatic Test

There are two methods of approach towards a solution of the problem of the survival and persistence of Mind, Memory and Personality. One is through the objective phenomena of Psychism, mis-

*Chiefly as the storehouse of all impressions derived from the waking experience.

called Spiritualism; into which class fall all those experiences which recall the external symbols or tokens of deceased earth-personality. Spiritual values may and do accompany these phenomena but in themselves they do not belong to that category.

The other approach is by means of the subjective phenomena of Mind and here we seek proof of the indestructibility of Mind by an appeal to those interior links of which I have spoken. The question then arises: What kind of proof shall we seek as being satisfactory and conclusive?

The phenomena fall into several classes. There is first the broad basis of Telepathy or Thought-transference on which we can build as a foundation. But this, although it shows the action of Mind on Mind as apart from the physical organism, does not so clearly suggest that Mind can act after the body is dead and the brain-organism dissolved.

Next there is a large range of phenomena connected with what has been known as Psychometry—the faculty of reading impressions derived from objects. These impressions are sometimes very vivid and portray visually certain scenes and events in the history and associations of the object in question. They seem to demonstrate that every object made or handled by man does in some way unknown to us retain the impress of his personality and that however faint this impress may be, it can be evoked and amplified to an indefinite extent, just as the much attenuated etheric radiations may be caught, recorded and amplified until the original strength and volume of the voice that generated them is reproduced.

A theory has been put forward under the title Metagnomy, for the explanation of this. The word simply implies an extended faculty of knowledge and thus in itself explains nothing, being only a formula.

But if through the channel of the subconscious mind, the impress of personality inherent in the lifeless object becomes attuned to the thought of the original personality which generated this impress, then the delicate recording instrument of the psychic sensitive may register and amplify its vibrations with the result that a memory of the past is brought into living contact with the present; the original personality being recalled into its first association with the object.

A third class of mental phenomena is found in the records of clair-audience, clairvoyance and inspirational writing and drawing. One order of the writing in this class is involuntary and unconsciously produced. The evidence for the survival of Mind, Memory, and

Personality offered by such phenomena as these would be conclusive only if the information or knowledge conveyed by their means proved to be

(a) Not within the memory or experience of any living person.
(b) Not accessible in any printed or written work.
(c) Exactly verifiable from some source outside living knowledge. (e. g. by excavation.)

This is the character of the proof sought by me of the operation of discarnate Mind and Memory. With these, the element of Personality always consistently associates itself and cannot be dissected from them. In the written communications collected by me since 1908 the constant claim is made that Thought persists and Memory also in proportion as the mental sympathies of those who speak are still bound by the ancient ties of earth-memory: and that it is entirely through our own sympathetic thought that they are re-evoked and recalled in their old-time vividness.

Specification of Tests Required Under Head (c).

It is obvious that the mere fact that knowledge supernormally conveyed is not within living memory or accessible in documentary form, cannot be of the smallest utility in proving the survival of Mind and Memory, since it is in its nature incapable of verification. Therefore any proofs coming only under heads (a) and (b) are discarded as evidence.

There remain a small group of tests which will satisfy all three conditions. These I make as follows: others may suggest possible additions to the list.

(1) *Proof from Buried Antiquities.* In such cases the material witness of the knowledge supernormally given is revealed by excavation (anacalypsis).
(2) *Proof by Fulfilment.* As of predictions of coming events.
(3) *Proof by Translation of Unknown Tongues.* When a passage from an unknown language, living or dead, is given supernormally together with a translation of the same afterwards verified as accurate.

If incontestable evidence of either or all of the above three species of proof be offered, it is difficult to see how the conclusion can be avoided that it is the work of some independent mentality possessing conscious knowledge extending beyond the human sphere, and its temporal and spatial limitations.

I now offer certain examples of test communications falling under these three heads. These are necessarily given in a summarised form, the principal points only being elaborated. They do not stand alone. I have taken every care to authenticate them and the fuller record will be found in my works 'The Gate of Remembrance', 'The Hill of Vision,' and 'The Company of Avalon'.*

I

PROOF FROM BURIED ANTIQUITIES

In 1907 I, as an ecclesiastical architect and antiquary, took up the study of the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey, the site of the traditional first Christian mission to Britain in apostolic times. Such a site might be deemed most promising for the locus of a psychical enquiry since it has a vivid and inspiring record of some 1500 years of religious history and tradition from the first to the sixteenth century. For a year or so, until November 1907, I had stored my mind with details of the architectural history by the study of documents available and the views of learned antiquaries. The story of the ruins as given in the all too scanty remnants was the object of my care.

With me was associated a friend (called in my book John Alleyne). We had this interest in common and also an interest in psychic research. I had for some time been a member of the London Society and was desirous of contributing to its work. Mr. Alleyne had told me that some time previously he had had a curious experience. His right hand had been seized with a sort of cramp and he had felt the urge to take a pencil. His hand then wrote spasmodically in small characters on any available sheets of paper. The writing was difficult to decipher but turned out to be a message or instruction of interest to his family, and this was of a veridical nature, leading to the identification of certain valuable papers.

I tested his 'psychometric' powers by an experiment in a deserted house in Clifton, Bristol, reputed to be haunted, and obtained a curious story which I afterwards verified in four several particulars from an entry in a newspaper of 1797 preserved in the Free Library at Bristol. I thus found that he was sensitive to the influence of old places.

There was at that date no suggestion of the 'radio' and its remarkable powers, or I should have had an excellent analogy upon which to

*To be obtained from the Old Corner Book Store, Boston, Mass.

base my ideas of the mental process at work. But the facts of telepathy were well established and I believed that that the association of two minds bent upon the same quest would ensure a reinforcement of any power of memory-reading at work.

I considered that our reading and researches at Glastonbury might have led to certain subconscious conclusions with regard to facts we had noted but from which we had failed to educe any theory as to the nature and position of missing portions of the Abbey fabric, owing to the scanty amount of information in the records and the contradictory nature of the views held by leading archaeologists over the last half-century with regard to these.

I therefore proposed to attempt to gain information as to the lost features of the Abbey by the use of this involuntary writing and I suggested that I should give my friend the pencil and lay my own hand over his during any writing that might come.

I wish here to state positively that the documents at our disposal at this time and during the following period of excavation were only those that had been equally accessible to all other students. I say this because it has been falsely alleged that we were in possession of a knowledge of documents not hitherto accessible, in which the position and dimensions of these lost features of the Abbey were given*.

The first passage written in this joint experiment was as follows. It is the keynote of all that came after.

"All Knowledge is eternal and is available to mental sympathy".

This suggested the idea of a species of telepathic action between minds of the living and some kind of storehouse or treasury of past knowledge. I perceived that this might operate through some law of sympathetic vibration akin to the harmonic laws which govern music and other rhythmic activities. Thought might well be undulatory and it would be a question only of mental attunement. This governed my subsequent attitude.

From the first, a note of Personality came into the writing. The communicating intelligence used the personal pronoun. He wrote:

"I was not in sympathy with monks. I cannot find a monk yet".

But he promptly found one for us. This suggested a highly or-

*See the Editorial apology in the 'Month' (English Catholic monthly) for July 1920, following the article by Leslie Moore in the May issue for same year.

ganised knowledge classified in departments mutually connected but widely diversified in sympathy.

There followed a rough drawing, showing, at the extreme east end of the Abbey choir, a long rectangular building. A script in monkish Latin followed which stated that this was the Chapel of King Edgar and that it was thirty yards in length. The statement seemed outrageous at first, as the existence of any such chapel at this point had been denied categorically in 1904 by Mr. Hope, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London (later Sir Wm. Hope), and his decision, based as it was upon excavation made in that year, had been regarded as final and conclusive.

Other antiquaries had different views as to the site of the Edgar Chapel, for the existence of which we have or had then but one authentic document, to wit, Leland's note, which said:

"Abbot Bere builded Edgar's Chapel at the east end of the church and Abbot Whiting performed some part of it".

Professor Willis had considered this to mean the east end of the choir and his plan shows an extension here of some fifteen feet for the chapel in question. Others followed Mr. James Parker, who marked the chapel as being in the south transept, to the east of the crossing. He cites a good authority for his view. But our script with its 90 foot extension is revolutionary and upsets them all.

My plan then was to refer back to documents already studied in order to discover whether the script threw any light upon them. It did so. There was one printed document which all had studied, and all had in turn discarded as valueless. I had done the same. But the script revealed a vital misinterpretation of the very obscure wording of this document and in the light of the script its meaning became clear.

Many more writings were obtained during the early months of the year 1908 and the detailed dimensions of the two parts of the chapel successively built by Abbots Bere and Whiting were given together with descriptions of its form and architectural character.

Permission to excavate as Director on behalf of the Somerset Archaeological Society was accorded me in May 1908 and I commenced the work in June. During the summer the whole extent of a rectangular chapel was exhumed and proved to correspond in all essential respects with what had been stated in the script. It was of four divisions. The total breadth was about eight per cent short of the measure (34 feet) given in the script but on the buttresses this

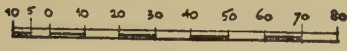
would have been greater, and we have nothing left of the superstructure—only the rough foundations being still in place.

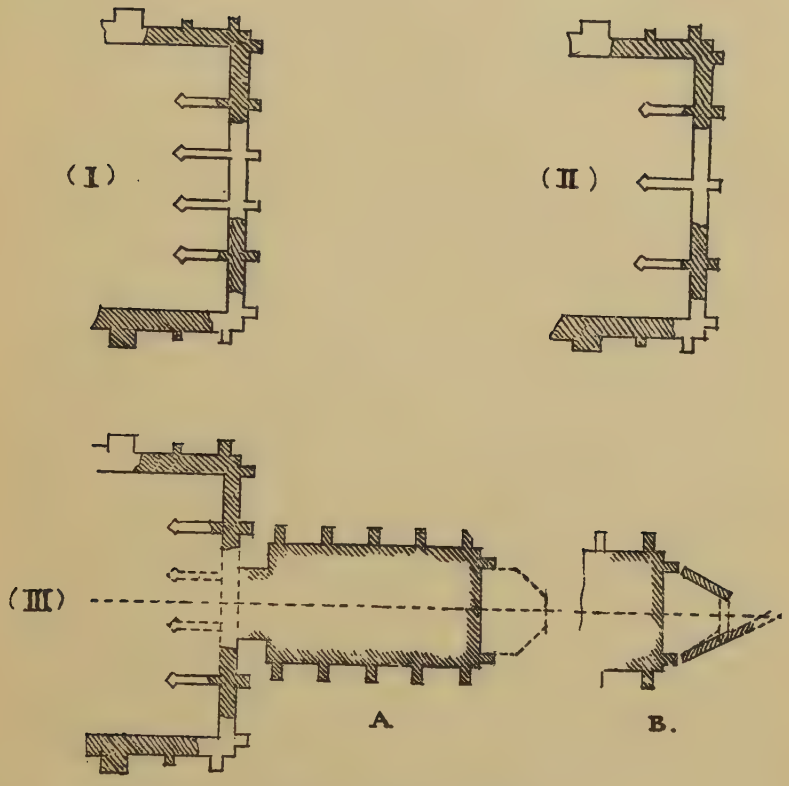
On measuring the length of the rectangular chapel I found it to be six inches short of seventy-two feet and on referring back to the script produced in February and March 1908 I noted that this dimension had been given for the part of the chapel laid down by Abbot Richard Bere. No further extension however was visible in the high bank of clay to the east of the excavation. I decided to seek further in the following year, as the script indicated an eastward extension with angular walls added by the last Abbot, Richard Whiting. I drew a conjectural plan of such presumed addition and published it in December, 1908, suggesting a polygonal apse. This publication was made in three ways: in the form of a printed appeal for funds; in the Christmas number of the 'Treasury' (a Church of England magazine); and in the first Annual Report of my excavations for the Somerset Society. The script was submitted to several friends including Mr. Everard Feilding, then Secretary of the Society for Psychical Research, but as it was not practicable to mix archaeology with psychic enquiry, I withheld knowledge of the script from any official document. Had I not done this, my term of excavation would have ceased very shortly in view of the unready state of public opinion and the feeling in the Church which was now the owner of the Abbey.

But I was able to construct a good argumentative case for the further excavation I wished to make, and early in 1909 I explored the ground to the east, finding to my great satisfaction the remains of the two angular walls and the gap at the extreme east where the script had specified that there was an opening in the wall. The foundations were examined and duly reported on by my Committee and the whole area of the walls of the chapel leveled and rendered permanently visible.

I again emphasize the fact that all through this time I was not in possession of any documentary knowledge which had not been in the hands of the older antiquaries. I would impress upon critics the fact that sixty years of argument and debate, culminating in Mr. Hope's negative finding, had not brought any elucidation of the problem. But this was solved by recourse to involuntary writing and without the smallest difficulty. Scarcely a spadeful of earth was wasted in the process.

It was not until nearly two years after the discovery of the Edgar Chapel that an XVIII century MS plan came to light in the lumber-





GLASTONBURY ABBEY

THE EDGAR CHAPEL

Key to Diagrams

I Plan of East End according to Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A.

II Ditto according to Sir Wm. St. John Hope. (1904 Proc. Royal Arch. Inst.)

III (a) Plan of Bere's 72 ft. Chapel as discovered 1908, with conjectural extension (aspidal) published in December, 1908.

III (b) Foundations of aspidal extension, discovered early in 1909.

room of an old Somerset family. This on examination showed a small outline plan of the Abbey as it was, say, about the year 1770. An extension with broken lines to the east was roughly indicated and the parts numbered. On reference to the table, the number attached to this part was found to be described as

"The Chapel of King Edgar's Chapel. 87 ft. long". The 87 feet tallied with the 90 (as inside to outside measure.) This Plan, now known as the 'Sale Plan,' has been acquired by the Somerset Society and is now hung on their Museum walls.

I (b).

There was another chapel whose site was lost. Here again the only record was a note by Leland made about 1534. He said that

"Abbot Bere, coming from his embassy in Italy, built a Chapel of Our Lady of Loretto, joining to the north side of the bodies of the Church."

This was taken to mean that the chapel had been attached to the north side of the nave; but for many generations it had been believed that the surviving chapel in the north transept was the Loretto and no one had troubled to dispute this. A note in Dugdale's Monasticon seemed to confirm the idea.

In 1910 (Sept.) another old MS came to light. It is the diary of a schoolmaster of the time of Geo. II. In it is a very rough sketch of the ruins and a slight indication of ruined stonework on the north side of the nave. Following an inspection of this MS I searched in the year following along the line of the buried footings of the north wall of the nave to see if I could find any sign of an attached building, of this nature. Finding none, I cut two short trenches into a grass bank on the north side but discovered no traces of a wall and there I left the matter.

After some further excavation in other directions in 1912 nothing more was done for some years, as the war supervened in 1914. In 1916, finding myself among the unemployed professional class, I decided to write up the story of the Edgar Chapel and its discovery in 1908 by aid of 'automatic' writing. I invited John Alleyne to sit with me to see if we could get any further matter of interest, and he agreed. The Loretto Chapel was not an object of enquiry, though I must have had a subconscious wish that I had been able to locate this, and I had still a feeling that it must have been somewhere on

the north side of the nave. But it was not uppermost in my thought. Judge then of my surprise when my friend's hand wrote:

"You did not go far enough into the bank cast up there

"It was full five feet in..."

John Alleyne seemed totally unaware of the meaning of this reference. But it soon became clear that it was actually the Loretto Chapel that was being spoken of. I was told that Bere travelling from Padua to Rome on his embassy from the King to the Pope had been attacked by bandits. His mule slipped and he was falling down a precipitous place, when he called on Our Lady to help him and lo! his cloak caught on a thornbush and he was saved. Then he vowed that on his return home he would build a votive chapel to Our Lady of Loretto. This Chapel the script said was built in the Italian style, being the first of the kind erected in England. It was drawn and detailed for us. Its measures were given as being 40 feet by 20 or 21, and the strange statement was made that it was not (as Leland's description seemed to imply) actually attached to the nave wall on the north, but as much as thirty-one and a half feet away from the nave to the north.

This assurance, seeming as it did, to contradict the record of that eminent and careful antiquary, Leland, was staggering. Nevertheless I decided to publish all that was given, together with a plan showing my interpretation of the script and I told the whole story in the "Gate of Remembrance" which appeared first in the early days of 1918.

I was unable to take any steps towards verification until the late summer of 1919 when the Trustees decided to allow excavation to continue. But as soon as I received permission to dig, I sunk a shaft into the bank five feet from the edge and came right upon a mass of stonework which I had missed by only a short distance when I cut into the soil in 1911.

During that season and the following (1919-1920) I was able to open up almost the whole circuit of a building which appeared to have been demolished to the very foundations. A small part of the east end, being under a tree was left unexplored, but I had the key of the measures and they indicated that the superstructure would have been as nearly as possible 40 ft. by 20. The distance east of the transept was claimed by the script to have been ten feet, by a covered way (via claustra) between the two. I found the foundation of the cloistral space. It ran alongside the transept wall and the little

chapel led out of it on the west. The width was as nearly as I could estimate ten feet. But the most astonishing feature of the whole affair was the discovery that the southern wall of the chapel was indeed, as the script said, thirty-one and a half feet to the north of the nave aisle. The memories in this case were singularly perfect and there is no document existing known to antiquaries which could give the slightest indication of any of these details. The chapel walls having been demolished down to the floor-line and all architectural detail swept away I was hard put to it to verify the statement that the style was Italian. But the only, small fragment of an architectural nature which I found was the pendant of a small niche-canopy and this was distinctly of a Renaissance type. The script asserts that the carved fragments are thrown on a heap ten feet to the north. It has so far been impossible to excavate there but I hope some day to do so.

In this episode the choice of the subject was so entirely outside the scope of my intention that I was impressed more fully than ever of the presence of a directive and selective intelligence in the giving of this story.

I (c).

In 1921 I received script from two new sources. In neither case did the writer or writers claim any knowledge of Glastonbury Abbey. One was a lady living near Winchester, a devout Churchwoman who had been a parish worker in her district for some years. She had glanced at the 'Gate of Remembrance' and had been attracted by the psychic side of the story. Shortly afterwards she began to get spontaneous writing. It purported to come from monks of Glastonbury and Winchester Priory of the XII century, and was directed to me as 'hym that seeketh'. I found soon that it was intelligently following much that was in my thoughts in connection with the programme of the 1921 excavations. I will give one notable instance of the verification of this lady's script.

On the 27th August, 1921, she posted me a writing obtained on the previous day. It alluded to the ancient wooden church which occupied the site of the present Lady Chapel before the Great Fire of 1184, and it said that the second Norman Abbot, Herlewin (a name quite unfamiliar to her and of whose works very little is known), built a protective stone wall around the wooden walls. She got a plan in which this wall was shown in dotted lines, and it ran at

a slight slant from the walls of the older chapel, whose axis east and west deviated apparently about two degrees of the compass from this stone wall. Here is the passage from her script:

"Now *Galfridus* speaketh. There be old thegns among our corrodiers who remember. I mynde them even now. One *Gualtier* ane Normand saw *Thurstan* Abbas strike our subpryor till he like stane on grund lig (lay).* *Gualtier* knew somewhat of Ecclesia Vetusta (the old Church) before *Herluin*—some walle of stane outer (outside) of ye walles of Sanct Paulinas, and within a floore of symboles and a chasse (shrine), steep and pointed, by Awter on sud (south side of altar), for Sanct David hys reliques—as thus, saith Gualtier—Gualtier ne scribere cann. (Gualtier cannot draw).

(Here follows the plan) The script continues:

"*Herluin* Abbas made new wall of stone. I can hit marke... (the dotted lines follow) Then Henricus Abbas buylded on Ecclesia Major somewhat; began Towre at sud-ouest. Then *Robertus* Abbas came, finished Bell-towre and rooff on great towre—a towre lowe and broad over parvis of choro..."

The existing Lady Chapel was built just after the fire in 1184. No record of any stone-walled building or foundation of such building of earlier date on this site has ever, so far as I am aware, been spoken of at any time. No warrant then would have existed for the justification of a request on my part for permission to dig here.

But within five days from the receipt of the script, the Dean of Wells, Chairman of the Abbey Trustees, took an idea into his head that the ground had risen rather high on the north side of the Lady Chapel and that the public would get a better view of the plinth and base-courses of the Chapel wall if he had it lowered in level. Accordingly he, quite on his own initiative, took the Society's men from the work that they were doing for me on the North Transept and started them on the work of lowering the level of the soil on the north side of the Chapel of St. Mary aforesaid. When I visited the ground on the 1st September I found them busy. They had sunk the soil a few feet in advance of the chapel wall and had already come across a piece of masonry of unknown date and character. I told them to follow this to the westward, and in the course of the next two days they had traced the northern edge of this masonry some thirty feet to the west and verified the existence of a broad stone footing wall

*Words in brackets mine. F.B.B.

which must have belonged to a building here dating from before 1184. I took a friend, Revd. T. S. Lea, D.D., late Vicar of St. Austell, to my rooms on the evening of the 1st September (the day I first saw the wall) and he initialled and attested the script as being in my possession on that date. I pointed out to him the deviation of the axis in the script plan, predicted that we might look for this when the rest of the wall was opened. This was done, and on measuring the distances of its edge from the chapel wall at both ends, the deviation to the north, going west, was found to be as the little rough plan in the script had indicated—between one and two degrees of the compass. The whole story is told in the "Company of Avalon".

II

PROOF BY FULFILMENT

The same intelligent agency which would appear to have directed the series of archaeological proofs, of which I have given these three notable examples, seems also to have planned to make the testimony more complete in other ways quite foreign to our thought. As early as 1907 a passage would here and there be interjected in the current of the script which would hint at coming changes, e. g.

Dec. 30, 1907.

"The Chapel of Our Lady at Glaston—type of spiritual things which are not manifest to you. The changes need not alarm you. The reconstructions will be more perfect. Let the State fall in ruins and the outward garments of faith perish: fear not.

"For greater things will rise into being—great nations and great ideals—we work for it".

On the 15th October, 1909 came, without warning or preface, the first of three prophecies of the Great War and attendant social or political disorders. I give an extract from the script which is published in full in the 'Hill of Vision'.

"Fortuna fuit. Coelum ruit. Labor fruit in aeternum".

"*War*—horrid war. Mars is king. Brother's blood. Before the great Feast of the Christus, the Nazarene, it cometh. The weak must suffer; the strong must die. They who are neither will suffer and live. Chaos—darkness—and a new dawn in crimson skies".

"Not long the conflict. The fury burns fierce and fast;—and then the calm on a red world... Red world;—red Poppies of forgetfulness in the graveyard of the past-and-gone-for-ever... Red Poppies in the graveyard,—and then—red Poppies in the smiling

cornfields in the sun. Read, learn and fear not. All is well and all has been ordained".

July 29, 1911.

"Britain, arise! That which has been, shall be. New things appear, but the Old in new guise shall return... What change comes? Say, is your Britain of today the same as the Britain of one short hundred years ago? When the West shall fall, Britain shall endure. The East comes into its heritage in the days to come; and as well try to stop the sun as the march of progress"...

"Forget not; so have comfort. She shall endure; but Perfection comes through suffering and catastrophe".

Jan. 27, 1912.

"Ruat coelum! Self and luxury. *Demos* rises and would sweep away all there is of good and charity. Fear not his swelling gorge, He blindly snatches at the fruit and will clutch the empty air... The elements of his ruin are in himself; and after a time and times, he will turn and rend himself and the earth shall be as it was before he rose to sprinkle the blood of the just and innocent upon her breast."

Oct. 26, 1912.

"That which we spoke of, know we. The 'Poppies' cometh before the Day of Christ. Note what we have said.

"Poverty, Hunger, and the War-lust in every land on which lieth the shadow of the Cross. They who would be at peace with their neighbours shall not be able, for Peace reigns no more. War with their neighbours is better than war at home, and so the cause must be made for quarrels".

"Then, when Europe is exhausted, the reign of Asia will commence, for there the sun is rising. So say we".

I would call attention to the repeated description of the War that is to come, as 'The Day of the Poppies'. No more appropriate symbol of that great event could have been chosen, as we all know The Flanders Poppy is adopted throughout Great Britain as the symbol of the sacrifice of her sons and each year, on Armistice Day it is worn by all who celebrate that anniversary. The prognostication that the whole of Christendom would be involved is also remarkable. It indicates a profound understanding of the forces moving among the Christian nationalities at the time and the high degree of probability amounting to practical certainty that they would all be involved; for this was actually the case as the event proved.

I must be content briefly to summarise the later group of prophetic forecasts given in the script received during the actual war period. These are detailed in 'The Hill of Vision'. One was given just before Easter 1918 when the Allied cause seemed at its darkest. I was not allowed to fall into any pessimistic state of mind. The dissolution of the central European combination in the near future was affirmed.

"Watch", said the script, "On Easter Day the tide will turn and ebb swiftly and consistently".

On the Monday, April 1st, the London evening papers came out with the headlines:

"The tide has turned".

The script of March 29th also said:

"The very elements will fight on the side of right".

The Daily Chronicle correspondent's letter published April 2nd says:

"The luck of the weather has turned for about the first time that I can call to mind and gone completely against the enemy".

I was warned that Germany would undertake a new offensive in the spring, this movement being a necessity for her to save her from stagnation. It would carry her over many of the fair fields of France but would end in disaster. And on or about the 26th Aug. she would realise that the game was lost and this would be the 'spiritual' end of the war, though fighting would drag on for some time after.

All happened as foretold. The best military judges have fixed the date 26th August as marking the end for Germany.

I quote from Reuter's despatch as appearing in American newspapers:

ENEMY HAS SIMPLY DISINTEGRATED
DRAMATIC ERA BEGAN WITH STARTLING SUDDENNESS

London, Aug. 26. 'We have entered the most dramatic era of the war with such startling suddenness that it is difficult to realize the full extent of its possibilities', says Reuter's correspondent at British Headquarters in describing the situation Sunday. 'It is a staggering fact that since yesterday morning the enemy has simply disintegrated over a considerable zone'.

Thus the specific assurance given in the script in April was fulfilled to the letter four months later.

A final instance is found in a script obtained by me with John Alleyne at Gloucester on the 12th October, 1918. It is given in Latin with some grammatical errors which I have ventured to amend as they in no way affect the sense and purport of the message.

"Concilia sapientiae prevalebant. Bellum finitum est. Pax venit in cancellis omnibus. Bene volentes in terra jamque scripserunt. Venit ad crescentem lunae, pro gloria Dei. Magisterium bene solvebitur in anno D. 1919.

"Probatus rerum finitus est. Bene fecimus.

"Via nova operta est vobis. Benedicite".

This is followed by a jubilant passage in English:

"In the mists of the spiritual, where Matter mergeth into Spirit, ye have traced the silver thread;—which follow as a clue for the great Mystery of the Infinite.

"Follow the clue. The gates are opening on a new Dispensation wherein Vision shall take the place of Faith and the things which have hitherto been unseen shall be open to the spiritual eyes of Mankind".

"Behold, the Majesty of the Lord cometh and is even now in your midst: and the Sun of Righteousness shall dispel the clouds which cover the face of the earth and the waters".

"All is done. Glory be to God in Heaven. I, *Imperator,* have spoken;—I, *Imperator,* here in your midst".

"Vale, atque vale, atque salve!"

The prophecy is that peace will come in the waxing of the moon. The full moon in October, 1918 was on the 21st, nine days after the receipt of the script. The full moon following was on the 19th November (18d. 18hr. 16m.)

The Armistice was declared on the 11th November (11d. 11h. 11m.)

Thus the moon was crescent at the time and just at her first quarter.

III

PROOF FROM TRANSLATION OF UNKNOWN OR UNFAMILIAR TONGUES

Some of the scripts of the 'Glastonbury' series have been received through other hands. A large number have come through the agency of an American gentleman known as Philip Lloyd in the two published sections of his work. These are printed as booklets under the

title 'The Glastonbury Scripts, Nos. III, IV, and VII, but the larger part is still unpublished.*

Philip Lloyd's interest in the work commences in 1921 after his reading of 'The Gate of Remembrance'. He sits with a friend in the same manner as I sat with John Alleyne; his friend holding the pencil and he, placing his hand over the hand of the writer. The writer has no knowledge of any foreign language. Philip Lloyd has not studied Latin since his college days (about 1912). He cannot now translate Latin nor can he memorise it. He has no acquaintance whatever with Gaelic, Anglo-Saxon, or classic Persian yet these are among the tongues which are represented in the writing he has obtained automatically through the hand of his friend K. L.

In May, 1921, a great friend of his was travelling in Scotland and was in Iona at the time that a script was received. Philip Lloyd had been thinking of this friend, and on the 27th May was led to read a book on Iona in which the English of a prophecy attributed to St. Columba was given thus:

"In Iona of my heart, in Iona of my love
Instead of monks' voices shall be lowing of cows:
But ere the world shall come to an end,
Iona shall be as it was".

K. L. the automatist, knew nothing of this book or its contents. At 3 p. m. on the same day, May 27th, this passage having been read at noon, the following came through K. L.'s hand in answer to his question "Are you ready to speak?"

"Yea. First something that you know,—in Gaelic"

"An I mo cridhe, I mo ghraidh,
An à ite guth mhanach bidh geum bà;
Ach mu'n tig saoghal gu crich,
Bithidh I mar bha".

This in no way enlightened him. But light came at once when his friend's hand immediately wrote the English lines already quoted and at the foot of the verses came the words:

"Thought of your friend in this sacred place—your thought of him, —brings this that you know, through us".

The proper accents were placed on the letters in the Gaelic as he was to find later, but he was at a loss to verify the Gaelic himself and in the evening he went to a public library near which his rooms

*To be had from the Old Corner Book Store, Boston, Mass.

were. Turning over all the books that he could find on the subject he was led to choose one that had never been taken out of the library. This was Treholme's "Story of Iona". Hunting thro' the pages he found at the end the same prophecy in Gaelic that had come to him, the sole difference being an 'a' in the last line.

I have secured the punctual attestation of this and all other script that has come from this source and am able to say that owing to Philip Lloyd's great care, the evidence is flawless from that point of view. My sole regret is that so much of the best he has obtained is of a private nature and cannot—at least for the present—be given to the public. Occasionally beautiful verse is written and the literary excellence of this and some of the prose gives it a certain warrant of its own as proof of the superior nature of the Mind-element operating.

Here is an example. On May 23 Mr. Lloyd read aloud the matter on p. 53 of 'The Hill of Vision'. It alludes to the end of the era of war between the nations. Immediately the pencil moves and writes:

> "Love answ'reth love:—in trusting patience wait
> As one who lingers by a garden gate
> Expectant of the day when doubt and woe
> Shall vanish as the fleeting April snow".

This was written in the space of one minute.

On the 19th November came part of a life of Zarathustra. This was prefaced by four sheets of Persian which he could not well transcribe. Neither he nor his friends knew anything about the Persian prophet and he does not know a word of Persian.

The Persian script was given in English characters, but as he did not know a word, he did not even attempt to transcribe it but began with the English translation of the passage which was given immediately afterwards.

The day following he spent at the Library having found Mills's translation of the Gathas. But he could not find his passage and became confused, he says, at the innumerable versions. So he let the matter go. Then came Thanksgiving Day and he sat again and asked where he might find the Persian. He was told:

"First Yasna. Thirty-one. Verse eight".

The next day he went to the Library again but could get little help from the card catalogue. By good chance however he met an acquaintance who might help him. This man, Mr. W... took him

up to the Persian room. Here he had but little luck, for although he found copies of the Zand Avasta, they were all in Persian characters and translated into German.

After searching for about an hour, and just about to leave the room he was led to pick up a small book which had no title on the back. It proved to be Mills's translation of the Yasnas into English. He turned to the XXXIst and found what is recorded below. Then again he started to leave, but for some reason he cannot explain, he pulled out a little flat book which turned out to be a translation of the XXXIst Yasna itself by Jackson, published in 1888. It was a better translation and he was much pleased. As the Persian text was in Persian characters he did not trouble about it but took the translation, and went home.

The following morning, the 26th November he again went to the Library to read the Yasna throughout from the little Jackson edition. It opened at the Appendix and there, to his great delight he found the Yasnas printed in Persian but in English characters. Feeling very happy about this, he copied the eighth verse on the back of an envelope and to make a perfect check, he went to his room and got out his script, taking it to the rooms of a friend J. R. Together they compared copy and script, letter by letter. There was the identical passage; only one mistake of one single letter. And the Persian script had come at the same high speed as all the rest!

I now give the Persian as it came through the hand of K. L.

"At thwa menghi pauvrim mazda yazim stoi mananha
vanheus patarem mananho hyat thwa hem cashmaini hengrabem
haithim ashahyw damim anheus ahurim shyothnaeshu".

As given in Jackson (under the title 'A Hymn to Zoroaster), it runs thus:

"At thwâ menghî paourvîm mazdâ yezîm stôi mananhâ
vanheus patarem mananhô hyat thwâ hem casmainî hengrabem
haithîm asahyâ damîm anheus ahurem syaothanaêsû".

He enquired as to the differences in the spelling and was at once told:

"Yea, Now 'pauvrim' is correct. But it is 'yezim' and should be 'ye' instead of 'ya'.

His communicator seems to stand by the other variations, so that only one mistake is admitted.

And now for the relative values of the translations. First I will record the translation found in Mills (Gathas, p. 134, v. 8, yasna 31).

"Then I thought Thee first, O Mazda, to be adored for the land with the Mind;—the father of the good Mind, when in the eye I seized Thee the veritable establisher of Asha* the Lord of the actions of Life (or 'of the world').

Next comes Jackson's translation. This runs as follows:

"Therefore in the beginning, O Mazda, I conceived Thee in mind to be worthy of worship, when I beheld Thee in mine eye as the Father of the Good Mind,—as the very Founder of Asha, the Law of Righteousness, the Lord amid the deeds of Life".

Lastly, the translation given in the automatic script:

"When I saw Thee in my eyes, I ever thought of Thee as the First, O Ahura Mazda:—as worthy ever to be worshipped with the Mind; —as the real Father of the good Mind;—as the Creator of Truth and the Master of all the actions of the world".

I venture to think that the last will be thought by many critics to be the most simple and beautiful. The use of the word 'Truth' in place of the phrases used in the other translations seems to mark a superiority. But this translation is not yet identified with any known work and the question is: What is its origin?

Here is a curious case connecting events on both sides of the Atlantic. In November, 1921 being anxious to know more of the builders of Glastonbury before the great fire of 1184, I bought of a Marylebone bookseller a second-hand 'Life of St. Hugh' of Avalon thinking I might find some references in it to his known connection with Somerset ecclesiology. In this I was disappointed as it only referred to his later career as Bishop of Lincoln. I peeped into the book and placed it on my shelves, where it remained unopened for a long time.

About the end of the same year, Philip Lloyd was told that he would be given later the life of a prominent person connected with the Abbey. Rather more than a year later he was offered the choice Marylebone bookseller a second-hand 'Life of St. Hugh' of Avalon, He knew nothing of Hugh but inferred from his title 'of Avalon' that he must be a Glastonbury worthy, so he elected to receive this script, which was begun in March and was timed to finish by Easter. A forecast or schedule of its contents was given and this was faithfully adhered to. It was a fine piece of literature and told much of the Abbey building matters and the successive Abbots and their works. I have published it as No. VII of the 'Glastonbury Scripts'. The

*'Asha' means 'the sanctity of universal law'.

scope of the historical knowledge it contains is wonderful; the descriptions vivid and image-creating. It showed a knowledge of architectural matters of which Mr. Lloyd is entirely ignorant. After the completion of the narrative he took a week's rest and was then told that there was a further long message to be given.

There ensued a writing of thirty-four sheets of Latin, given in half-an-hour. This was produced without hesitation or pause. The title was then written:

"The Metrical Life of Hugh. A Description of the Cathedral. We *think** this is translated".

Mr. Lloyd spent the next day at two big public libraries in the vain hope of discovering traces of such a "metrical life'. Then he communicated with an Anglican headquarters (educational) and found they had no copy. He therefore asked for advice as to how to proceed and received this answer:

"If ye will read each line, we will translate verbally".

The script was thus rendered into English, the division of the lines being first given him. The whole process was witnessed by a friend who attests the record. On completion of the transcript of the poem, which was 51 lines in length Mr. Lloyd posted me a copy and asked me to enquire whether such a work was known. Now comes in the merit of my casual purchase in 1921. On again consulting this little book I this time turned to the Appendix and there found the whole of the Latin of the Metrical Life, altogether 131 lines, containing an account of the building of Lincoln Cathedral. Certain differences were found in the wording and of these I have made a summary. The translation was quite a good one—very good considering the disjointed way in which it was produced—but it differs materially in form from either of the known translations which I have since discovered.

The experiments of Dr. Osty have established the reality of supernormal cognition of the lives of persons submitted to the percipients. He shows that an article touched by the person cognized, even in the long past, can awaken the supernormal faculty. This cognition he refers to a transcendental plane of thought or mental activity and infers a transfer on this plane to the percipient quite other than what is generally understood by 'telepathy'. Dr. Osty does not admit external intelligence.

*The word 'think' is emphasized in the script.

It is the opinion of Mr. Stanley de Brath, his translator, that the present instances differ sensibly from Dr. Osty's cases. The information is historical, quasi-historical, and literary. The metrical Life of Hugh was unknown both consciously and unconsciously to both experimenters and in a language unknown to the automatist; the translation of the Latin is given in the same way.

I had not read any of the Metrical Life and although it was in the book that I had bought more than a year before, I had not the least idea that it was there. The case in Mr. de Brath's opinion is out of the category of Dr. Osty's experiments unless these matters can be referred to knowledge possessed by me and transferred through my letters to the percipient. "However improbable this may seem", he says, "it is not impossible, as some of the metagnomic experiments prove—the mere touch of a letter giving the most complex details of the writer's mind... It is 'metagnosis'—supernormal knowledge; not 'metagnomy'—supernormal faculty—that is here in question. The result, rather than the faculty, is the primary fact".

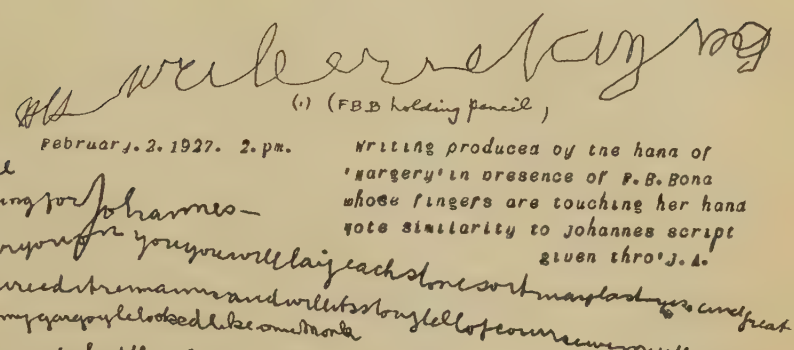
The association of two persons in these historical communications is again to be noted as it was in the case of Mr. Alleyne and myself. Mr. Lloyd can get nothing without K. L. and K. L. can get nothing without Philip Lloyd. Equally, Mr. Alleyne has never produced any consecutive 'Glastonbury' script without myself and I have no ability to get a movement of the hand unless some one is assisting me. The same has been the case in all my experiments with Mrs. Dowden (late Mrs. Travers Smith), in association with whom a long and interesting sequence of writings connected with early Glastonbury and stretching back into the apostolic times, has appeared. We did not ask for these; they have in all cases offered themselves. The last to appear has been a document which claims to be the lost Gospel of Philip the Deacon. It is a very fine version and full of interest but needs much scholarly attention before it could be offered in its entirety to the world. A portion was experimentally printed and was submitted for review to the leading English Church newspaper which gave it serious attention, the reviewer stating that he found it 'a wonderful production—reverent, orthodox, edifying, and decidedly instructive—nevertheless not always convincing'. The last I feel sure he was bound to say.

These scripts are produced at great speeds. That of Mrs. Dowden averages 2,200 words an hour and will be consecutive for over half an hour. It is far more than the normal literary output. The

character of the writing varies. Sometimes it recalls the normal handwriting of the automatist; more frequently it is of an entirely different character.

The language and style have always been a source of perplexity to the critic. A communication purporting to come from a mediaeval source will have a more or less mediaeval flavour imparted and the Old English employed will be very mixed and very faulty at times. The Latin is distinctly 'queer' in the case of John Alleyne. No schoolboy would perpetrate some of the grammatical blunders found. With Philip Lloyd we have the purest Latin and no effort at all at mediaeval English unless we except certain brief passages in strictly correct Anglo-Saxon. The explanation seems to be that there are two quite distinct types of mediumship in these writings. In one the vocabulary and indeed the whole mechanical part of the communication is claimed to be drawn from the subconscious memory of the writer or sitter associated; the ideas alone being supplied by the communicating intelligence. These ideas clothe themselves automatically in the language symbols most appropriate to the *mood* of the communication that can be picked out of the medium's 'well of memory'. Nothing we have ever read or heard, they say, is forgotten. The most fugitive impression can be revived, and after any lapse of years. This permanence of memory is attested in other ways—notably in the revival of the scroll of life as a complete panorama before the eyes of persons drowning or under the influence of anæsthetics.

In all about ten automatists have developed the 'Glastonbury' associations in the writings I have received since 1908. Of these I have found four who required my presence and the touch of my fingers to establish the special link. They could write freely alone on other subjects, but not on this. The latest to manifest the 'Glastonbury' control is 'Margery' the famous physical medium, who bids fair to outshine the fame of her physical phenomena by the striking quality of her writing. The *Johannes* control, which was so marked a feature of the first scripts of John Alleyne, has manifested spontaneously through four different mediums, the last being 'Margery' who knows nothing of the story and has not read my books. Johannes came unasked and his coming was a surprise. There is a noticeable similarity in the writing of the J. A. Johannes and the 'Margery' Johannes. This is a feature of considerable interest and I offer readers a specimen of each. The dates are wide apart—1908 and 1927.


(1) (F.B.B holding pencil)
(2) ('Margery' holding pencil)
February 2. 1927. 2. p.m.
Writing produced by the hand of 'Margery' in presence of F. B. Bond whose fingers are touching her hand note similarity to Johannes script given thro' J. A.

TRANSCRIPT. "Walter relaying for Johannes - I have come to cheer you on. you.. you will lay each stone so it may last."

Q. by FBB 'Can you see the foundations rising?' "Yes, and great work is never ourtea. It remains and will tell its story. Of course we must have our little jokes -even as my gargoyle looked like ours yonk" "It is all the way you look at things and the light that falls upon it giving it a different aspect. So it is with men; they sometimes see things according to their lights - You will have a chance now to dig deep into the hearts of men and lay foundations that cannot be destroy -ed. We shall have to come later when there is more force" "yes"

JOHANNES.

I have never read the 'Gate of Remembrance' and am quite unfamiliar with the story of the gargoyle.

Mina S. Crandon.
(Margery)

Specimen of Johannes script given through 'Margery.'

W/ Copied 5.12.08

Supposed autograph of Oswald ye Saxon

hath bred but hee knows not ye tongue He hath somewhat of olden t

(t)eg me that ye have found in ye Este he sayth & hee hadde a house

or howsen in wattle work and a churche within the forte wyche w

hich wee did enter ato when wee made Edgar hys newe chappell

Soe he sayth and that wyche is beyond the chappel

is not there a chambre The wyche ye shall see

when ye have digged full deepe and from hym did go a

Passage way to the lodge over the gate that leadeth to Chalce

Wyght is gonne full syne wee wot

Wyght hym the chambre ye church was sixe hundred and twenty eight

feete in length inside and fourteene more outside walls Soe wee rem

ember The tombe of Arthur in shining black stone was in

front of ye altare ye can see hys syge even now an ye wos in yecla

ye (clayse) and certain fragmentes that yet are for hym to

Specimen of Johannes script given through John Alleyne.

My object in the instances I have now given has been to demonstrate the Persistence of Mind, Memory and Personality, and the mode I have chosen for my experimental demonstrations has been the subjective one—the phenomenon of involuntary writing being the particular process selected by me. I have not found it possible to give equal attention to the physical or objective phenomena of the seance-room but I would remark that these also have their own value in Psychic Science and cannot be disregarded. As a whole, however, I should judge them far less conclusive as evidence of the actual presence of the true personality than the subjective proofs which exhibit the active working of Mind and Memory in communications which have all the marks of careful plan, selection, and direction of a highly intelligent nature.

In concluding my paper I will offer one example of the dynamic power of Thought and Suggestion in an experiment made by me to test the power of a careful mental suggestion, or mental image to impress itself upon the subconscious psychic entity and through this to influence material substance.

The record of my experiment will be found in 'Psychic Science' (see index). During the term of my association with this magazine as Editor, I had occasion to study what is known as 'psychic photography'—the appearance upon a photographic plate of objects not imprinted by any normal process. Eliminating all dubious instances —and of these I found many—I remained satisfied that certain persons do really possess a power of causing the projection of images upon the sensitive surface without any conscious act of their own or any knowledge of the process at work. In no case could I satisfy myself that such appearances were due to any phantasmal effect outside the camera.

Experiment in Thought-Projection

Being desirous then of securing, through the instrumentality of a known 'medium', the impression of a specific form which should be the record of a well-visualised mental picture, I first planned the nature of the form to be chosen and then determined the exact position upon the plate which it should hold upon development.

I drew a diagram of twelve equal squares, four by three, and on the left-hand lower corner square I marked the diagonals. This diagram I executed on paper and handed as a private memorandum to the Principal of the British College of Psychic Science together

with a specification of the thought-image which I wished to obtain with the help of the medium. This image was to be a perfect circle and it must stand exactly over the intersection of the two diagonal lines in this particular square chosen.

The medium was Mrs. Deane, a woman in humble circumstances and with little education. In her presence I then drew upon a blackboard the same diagram enlarged in chalk lines and then I in her presence focussed the camera upon the board so that it just filled a quarter-plate, 4 ins. by 3 ins.

I placed in the dark slides three new plates from an unopened packet supplied by the College, and I put these successively in the camera allowing her merely to hold the closed slides in her hands for a minute or so and afterwards to place her hand on the top of the camera during exposure of the plates.

Before this was done, I impressed very deeply upon her mind the exact nature and position of the spot I had determined. This I reiterated until I felt assured that she had fully grasped and as far as possible visualised the form of the circle over the crossed diagonals. I then exposed the plates and took them to the dark room where I developed them, Mrs. Deane standing by my side.

On the first plate there came out the lines of the chalk diagram alone. The ground was absolutely void of any abnormal mark. On the second, a shaded area of irregular outline developed over the greater part of the selected square and this shading ran over into the margin. On the third plate there came up brilliantly a circular spot in the exact position I had specified, and fulfilling all requirements. The three plates were at once exhibited to the College authorities and blocks made from them, these being published with the full record in the following number of Psychic Science.

I understand that Dr. Hereward Carrington was partly successful in a somewhat similar experiment. It is one of so simple a nature that it should be easy to duplicate it and I urge the desirability of a repetition by others. A result of this kind is of no great value as evidence so long as it stands alone. But it is one of those which with cumulative results would possess the greatest significance for science.

The human Will evokes energies which act upon Matter. Until now this action has been of a mechanical nature and through the use and control of the physical forces. By mechanism Man has devised means for the increasing subjugation of Nature. But there now begins to be apparent a further development of powers latent in man's

psychical constitution,—powers capable on the one hand of being controlled by the acts of Will and Imagination, and able on the other hand to affect material conditions without the aid of the physical organism or of any mechanical appliance.

The agent employed is *Psychic Substance,* a vehicle of force dirigible by the Will and yet substantial in the sense that it can and does in its turn exercise a dynamic influence upon physical matter, and control its particles and its masses by direct association just as the forces of electricity and magnetism are observed to do. To the student of Psychic Science, then, there is an imponderable material which is plastic to the powers of Mind and Soul, and which, like the field of magnetic force around a steel bar or dynamo can attract to itself the infinitesimal particles of physical matter, forming from these a ponderable body possessing powers of mechanical control. This psychic vehicle has a formative capacity and the forms it generates will be fixed or mutable according to the will which animates it.

Certain living organisms create and emit light. Others are found which can project an electric current in a given direction. These powers—evolved for protective purposes—are typical of the telekinetic potencies which reside in the psychic centres and are merely specific instances of a general power which may be exercised in innumerable modes and with countless varieties of effect. The whole range of phenomena of the seance-room are to be viewed in this light—as experimental attempts to employ this ultra-physical force in a formative as well as a dynamic capacity. The production of *Ectoplasm* is to be regarded in this light, dispassionately as a well-attested fact of observation. The intolerant attitude of many enquirers into the subject has no justification from the scientific standpoint, and the presence of what Dr. Schiller has described as the 'Will to Disbelieve' has been but too obvious in many cases recent in the public mind. Truth can only be elicited when the attitude of the seeker is impartial and no personal considerations are allowed to obscure the judgment or withhold the full acknowledgment of the facts and conditions observed.

We have to admit that however extraordinary and subversive of our preconceived notions the phenomena of psychic action may be, yet they are not on that account to be judged impossible and it is but a confession of impotence to say that our senses have deceived us.

But the 'Will to believe' has also its dangers and these are prominent in the claims of some of the leading exponents of the 'spiritistic' hypothesis. A chain is only as strong as its weakest link and until

public lecturers and writers who are advocates of this school are content to cut out and discard all weak or imperfectly attested instances the cause of truth will not be strengthened but rather set back, and made a subject of ridicule and contempt. The facts are quite good enough and their cumulative value is overwhelming. But the sceptics must study all the facts and not argue on an insufficient basis of knowledge as they have too often done.

As an instance of the type of evidence which should in my judgment be avoided, I might mention the dubious instances of so-called 'psychic' photographs which have been widely advertised on the authority of a leader of the spiritualist movement who is well in the public eye. To take one example only, there will be found in the Proceedings of the London Society for Psychic Research, (Vol. XIV, 1898-9, pp. 234-238) the record of a supposed abnormal photograph of the late Lord Combermere taken by an amateur on the day of his funeral. On examination of this picture by Sir William Barrett it was found that the effect of features in the ghostly figure seated in the chair was produced entirely by the markings of the carvings on the chair itself. What might have been a white whisker or part of a beard was more probably a collar or linen stock such as a footman would have worn. And the only other definite feature was the dark streak of a collar either of velvet or some facing material darker than the coat. And the picture is about thirty years old. Nevertheless this is claimed by the ardent enthusiast as evidence of the survival of the human soul! As Editor of a responsible journal devoted to Psychic Science I wrote to the paper which published this afresh in May of the present year, pointing out that the lighting of the apparition was identical in source with the lighting of the chair itself, the source of light being from a window on the right of the figure. This alone proclaimed it to be a normal figure, obtained by a partial exposure exactly as it would have been if one of the servants of the house had rested in the chair for a few minutes and moved about a good deal. But my communication was received with a howl of wrath from the whole school of this lecturer's adherents and I have in consequence been asked to withdraw from the editorship of the publication known as 'Psychic Science', whose control has now passed into other hands.

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CHAPTER IV

THE MARGERY MEDIUMSHIP

Experiments in Psychic Science

By L. R. G. Crandon

All honor to Clark University on this novel occasion. When Clark University announced a symposium on Psychical Research to cover two weeks and there to bring together, so far as possible, the people now in America who had had the most experience, those in authority took a notable step forwards in the history of Science. No University has done it before. No University before has admitted officially the existence of a psychic problem.

The history of the reactions of universities to Psychical Research shows wisdom from the worldly and practical point of view. The universities of America are many of them in the formative and growing stage. There are more applications for admission than there is room and these institutions are faced with the necessity, constantly, of increasing their endowments. Gifts come from the prosperous men of business, many of whom are stimulated to become benefactors of the colleges because they themselves had not the opportunity in their youth. They represent money and power and exhibit that sensitiveness which has always been noticed in the financial pulse of a nation.

Three bankers and a lawyer, all leaders in their lines, wanted to sit with a famous medium and they were told by one of their own group that such a sitting could be had if they would write down all they saw, heard and felt during the sitting and sign their names to it for publication. There was to be no implication of spiritualism and no opinions to be expressed as to the cause of the phenomena observed. One was president of a National Bank, one was president of a Trust Company, one was a banker and financial adviser, and the lawyer's name is known from coast to coast. They all decided not to go to the sitting under these conditions, saying frankly that they felt that they would menace the standing of their institutions in the community. It is no reproach, therefore, to past and future donors to universities to say of them that most of them

would probably hesitate to give funds to a university which undertakes seriously to study psychic science. This is true only because of the attitude of the world in general towards this budding science. There is little doubt that if one of our biggest universities should take up the matter as a subject of study that it might lose in future endowments from five to fifteen millions of dollars.

Public opinion, however, is a problem in psychology and it takes strange jumps. What is dark, discredited and, in general, without respectability today, may be that of which all the world will be lifting its voice in praise tomorrow.

The notable case of university contact with psychics of the last half century is that of the Seybert Commission of the University of Pennsylvania. The sum of money was given to the University by Mr. Henry Seybert on condition that it investigate "all systems of Morals, Religion or Philosophy which assume to represent the Truth, and particularly of Modern Spiritualism." The Commission consisted of ten men who sat occasionally over a period of 14 months, in 1884-85, with several mediums.

Their conclusion was that "Spiritualism presents the melancholy spectacle of gross fraud, perpetrated upon an uncritical portion of the community—and that there is an unwillingness on the part of mediums to have their powers freely investigated—nothing which could be looked upon as evidence has been purposely suppressed." If the Report is now read in light of present knowledge of teleplasmic rods, based on observations by Crawford and by the "Margery" Circle, it is quite apparent that perfectly valid supernormal phenomena may have been misinterpreted.

The record of Harvard University with regard to this science has been consistent throughout. In the presence of Professor, later President, Felton and three other professors, a divinity student in whose room raps were constantly heard was reproached and expelled. Another Commission, of which the late Professor Louis Agassiz was a member, carried on a so-called study of the mediumship in 1857. The behavior of the professors in this research deserves no other word than ludicrous, and now an entirely unofficial group of junior instructors at Harvard, with occasional professors as guests, sits eight times with a medium in 1925. A brief account of this comedy will be given later.

A fund of four hundred thousand dollars was donated to Leland Stanford University recently. From this it may be hoped that val-

uable research will come. This single large gift also gives hope that other funds will come in time, specifically designated for this purpose. In view, therefore, of the history of psychics and the present attitude of the world towards it, I repeat: all honor to Clark University!

Although this occasion is religious only in a fundamental sense, one is nevertheless tempted to begin with a text.

"Hear now this, O foolish people, without understanding; which have eyes, and see not; which have ears and hear not;

"Brethren be not children in understanding; howbeit in malice be ye children, but in understanding be you men."

Psychic Science or Metapsychics may be defined as the science of physical or psychological phenomena, due to outside forces which seem intelligent, or due to unknown faculties of the human spirit.

In this old subject which is newly becoming a science, we must begin with a confession of ignorance. If our knowledge be compared to a sphere, our ignorance is like the void of space which surrounds it. Like Dante, we find ourselves in a dark wood where the way is lost. Whatever way we look the path is of alluring interest. Every experiment opens up a vista of other consequent ones. The phenomena are not orderly, judged by our limited senses. We are overwhelmed by their variety and bizarre quality. We are forced into the humble position of being recorders only.

Than the subject of psychical research, there is none that leads to such an amount of emotional controversy. "Just in proportion as the honesty of the mediums is proved, does the wrath of the community enkindle against them. The very fact that it is *not* a cheat seems to anger them." (Capron, 1855). The scientific observation and recording of psychical experiments should not arouse emotion in the minds of rational people nor should the subject ever be one for debate. That it is made subject to debate and that the debate rapidly descends into personalities seems to be a part of the price. "The debator starts with his mind made up, his conclusions settled. That, of course, is the primary sin against science. Biologists do not debate, nor chemists, nor physicists. They explore, experiment, discuss." (Overstreet, 1926).

The subject and its manifestation are old. What is happening now is neither new nor unique. That wonderful organization, the Catholic Church, has always been a society for psychical research. Not a saint becomes one until the evidence, verbal and written, of the

unusual happenings which occurred in the presence of the candidate have been studied, and the devil's advocate has been heard, to attempt to show that all so-called miracles may have a normal explanation. In the history of every race we have the medicine man. Folk lore, full of mysteries, precedes all written history. Out of every tribe come stories of werwolves, of the little people, of fairies, of ghosts, of haunts. Mediumistic experiments went on in the Middle Ages under the patronage of the alchemists. The wood-cuts in their ancient books indicate this throughout.

A score of books have been written by scholars to show that both Old and New Testaments are full of psychic experience, spirits, and supernormal phenomena. (Paton and Stobart).

It may properly here be asked—Do these experiences in human history form something that our civilization has emerged from or were the ancients nearer to the mystery of things and have we lost it? Is psychical research encouraging a return to superstition or is it the beginning of an effort to return to a lost sensibility?

Serious scientific investigation of this subject may be said to begin with the work of Sir William Crookes of the Royal Society in 1870. His treatment by the scientific world was the prototype of what has happened ever since. He writes, "When I first stated that I was about to investigate the phenomena, the announcement called forth universal expression of approval. One said that my 'statements deserved respectful consideration,' another expressed 'profound satisfaction that the subject was about to be investigated by a man so thoroughly qualified;' a third was 'gratified to learn that the matter is now receiving the attention of cool and clear-headed men of recognized position in science;' a fourth asserted that 'no one could doubt Mr. Crookes' ability to conduct the investigation with rigid impartiality;' and a fifth was good enough to tell his readers that 'if men like Mr. Crookes grappled with the subject, taking nothing for granted until it is proved, we shall soon know how much to believe.' "

"These remarks, however, were written too hastily. It was taken for granted by the writers that the results of my experiments would be in accordance with their preconception. What they really desired was not the truth, but an additional witness in favor of their own foregone conclusions. When they found that the facts which the investigation established could not be made to fit those opinions, why—'so much the worse for the facts.' "

"They tried to creep out of their confident recommendations of the inquirer by declaring that 'Mr. Home is a clever conjurer who has duped us all.' 'Mr. Crookes might with equal propriety examine the performances of an Indian juggler.' 'Mr. Crookes must get better witnesses before he can be believed.' 'The thing is too absurd to be treated seriously.' 'It is impossible, and therefore cannot be.' 'The observers have all been "biologised' and fancy they see things occur which really never took place.' "

After extraordinary experiences with D. D. Home, Sir William Crookes made his report of materializations, through the medium, Florence Cook, of the famous "Katie King." For many months Katie King repeatedly appeared, walked about, shook hands with the sitters and was generally present as a full formed materialization and there in the corner was Florence Cook, the medium, sound asleep.

In 1882, Sir William Barrett offered a paper on certain psychic experiences to the Royal Society but the governing committee declined to allow him to read it. As a result of this, Sir William went out and, with others, formed the (British) Society for Psychical Research. The record of this Society has been characteristically British in its conservatism. It has endorsed few mediums but it has given a kind of dignity to the subject, and in England at least, the subject is no longer knocked about by mountebanks.

Since 1873 the list of great minds who believed that there was something behind all these manifestations, which science has yet to recognize, has been large. The list of free and courageous men includes Crookes, Barrett, Sidgwick, Wallace, Myers, Flammarion, Lombroso, Aksakoff, Sciaparelli, Bozzano, James, Richet, Lodge, Hodgson, Hyslop, Feilding, Crawford, Géley, Schrenck-Notzing and Doyle. These leading minds seem to agree with the final conclusions of William James, that when all the fraud and deceit and trickery are removed, there remains a residuum which no hypothesis covers so well as that of spiritualism.

In the last ten years there has been an immense amount of data gathered by good observers. This recrudescence undoubtedly was stimulated by the war and its losses in life, but the growth has continued and seems to be remarkably healthy at this moment. Crawford in Ireland produced three books of experiments with the Goligher family. Richet and others have produced volumes of observations on Palladino. Schrenck-Notzing has made capital reports of

his work, with drawings and camera, with the mediums Eva C. and Willy Schneider.

Géley, at the Institute Métapsychique in Paris, has written two books containing experiments with Eva C., Guzik, and Kluski. This last medium, entirely amateur, is a banker in Warsaw in whose presence full size materializations of the human figure and of animals as well, constantly occur.

Methodology

The problem of a satisfactory method by which the study of psychical phenomena may be raised from the status of a mere haphazard observation to that of a satisfactory scientific effort is by no no means easy of solution. The diversity of phenomena, the conditions of obscurity which ordinarily obtain, and the perplexing interweaving of the personal equation of all concerned, observers and spectators as well as the medium, all present elements of difficulty. The rational observer, acquainted with the history of psychical research, realizes at the outset that certain desired tests of a purely laboratory quality are difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. It is frequently urged, for example, that the phenomena to be veridical should be capable of repetition at will. Were the formation and exudation of teleplasm, for example, the result of the combination of known forces or components, the point might be soundly urged. As yet, however, we do not surely know those components or forces, we do not know the precise conditions under which the genetic impulse giving rise to the visible manifestation shows itself. We find, moreover, that, in the majority of instances, the phenomena do not rise in the volition of the medium, nor are they subsequently controlled by it. They are often sporadic and subject to inhibition by causes not known. Only of late years has there been a really serious attempt to collect and collate data scattered over the whole world. These are difficult of access and are defectively recorded. We do have, today, a growing feeling that these phenomena imperatively demand persistent and scientific study by observers with proper qualifications. This study will soonest bear sound results if there shall be adopted a methodology of investigation which shall insure as large a measure of uniformity in treatment as may be possible. Then, and only then, will it be feasible to collate and compare to the degree necessary for scientific advance.

Mr. J. Malcolm Bird has put it clearly in a recent paper. "This

knowledge of procedure underlies all science, all professions. Before any professional man can work or practice in his given field, he must devote a period of years to learning in all its details the methodology of that field.

"The reason why we have not developed a generally accepted methodology is complex. The dominant factors are the youth and the extraordinary subject matter of our science.

"Metapsychics, while related to biology and psychology, and, as we now find, to physics and even to mathematics, grew out of none of these. Until we can attain some approximation to standardization of method it is easy to perceive why we cannot get serious scientific attention."

After establishing a vocabulary, by international agreement, we have first to determine whether or not the phenomena occur. In Europe their occurrence is generally admitted. America is some years behind.

We next divide the manifestations into subjective (or mental) and objective (or physical). Some phenomena involve at one time both mental and physical.

A.—The subjective or mental phenomena include:

1. All knowledge not normally obtained (cryptaesthesia, which subdivides into telepathy, psychometry and prophecy).
2. Prosopopesis, the apparent assumption of the medium's body by another personality (secondary, impersonative, or discarnate).

B.—The objective or physical phenomena include:

1. All telekinesis under condition of control which exclude normal cause, such as levitation, apports, deports;
2. Psychic breezes, with changes in temperature;
3. Sounds with or without subjective content;
4. Psychic odors;
5. Psychic lights;
6. Psychic photographs;
7. Production of teleplasm;
8. Materialization;

C.—There is a third class of phenomena which has both subjective and objective content, such as apparently intelligent communication conveyed through table-tipping, writing with planchette and automatic writing.

The matter of message-bearing mediums will not be taken up

here at length. The testing precautions are those of accurate records and patient application of all possible checks and sources of information.

In the study of physical mediums there is some progress to report, particularly in the case of Margery. The factors subject to control and check are:

1. The séance-room;
2. The observers; their character and training;
3. The Psychic and her clothing;
4. The method and adequacy of the control apparatus;
5. The apparatus to be used; and
6. The records, to be made concurrent with the phenomena.

The need of all these observations has been developed and made clear by experience through the usual and hard method of trial and error. This you will see as the story of the mediumship is told.

The Temple of Truth has many entrances:—the one marked "Psychic Research" is approached by a stairway of two steps. The first of these is labelled: "Are the *phenomena* real; do the physical manifestations of supernormality actually occur?" The second step deals with the matter of *cause* and need not concern us until we have climbed the first step.

Wherever the physical phenomena occur, whether it be in a paper house in Japan, a humble cottage in Austria, a farmhouse in Ireland, in a room on Beacon Hill, or the laboratory of the Research Society, there is a similarity which must be impressive. This common formula may be expressed in three parts:

(1) Under conditions of rigid control, material objects are moved. Magnetism, electricity, radio-activity and gravity are excluded. This is called telekinesis.

(2) When these things are moved, the fact is not a miracle. Anything which happens again and again ceases to be a miracle. On the contrary, when a material object is lifted or moved, the hand, the eye and the camera record that the movement is caused by a psychic rod, of a material called ectoplasm or teleplasm, which emerges from the body of the psychic.

Of the reality of this ectoplasm, Richet says: "The alternative, then, is that the phenomena are genuine or that they are due to fraud. I am very well aware that they are extraordinary, even so monstrously extraordinary that at first sight the hypothesis of im-

measurable, repeated and continued fraud seems the more probable explanation. But is such a fraud possible? I cannot think so. When I recall the precautions that all of us have taken not once, not twenty, but a hundred or even a thousand times, it is inconceivable that we should have been deceived on all these occasions. It is possible that some day an unexpected experiment may explain our prolonged deception quite simply. So be it, but until it has been explained how we have all been duped by an illusion, I claim that the reality of these materializations must be conceded."

(3) Always, where these things happen, there is the figment, or fiction, or pretense, or fact, that a human entity professing to be one that formerly inhabited this flesh, is in control of the situation and is producing the phenomena.

To recapitulate then, there is a common formula to all physical mediumship: One, that things are moved; two, that they are moved by a terminal of ectoplasm from the body of the medium; and, three, that a discarnate entity pretends to control the performance.

"The first condition which a scientist should fulfill who engages in the investigation of natural phenomena is to free his mind wholly from philosophical misgivings;" and "We must understand that what our theory stamps as absurd is not always impossible in fact." These two wise recommendations, formulated in 1865, apply admirably to the present-day detractors of psychical research.

Claude Bernard has also said that *"It is never necessary to repudiate an exact and adequately observed fact."* The facts of psychics are reported by scientists who, from Crookes to Richet, are entirely accustomed to observe natural phenomena. Why, then, does their incorporation into academic science meet such resistance? The reasons for this are of several sorts.

We have, first, the fear of miracles, resulting from two centuries of scientific culture. It is certain that the phenomena of metapsychics are of supernormal character; and hence they appear to be miracles of a sort, in derogation of the laws of nature. But the modern scientist insists that nature's laws be held inviolate, and has such horror of their derogations that often he will not even pause to ask himself whether such an affront is not merely an apparent one. Science has a passion for phenomena which can be repeated at will in the laboratory, under conditions which can be altered at will to facilitate examination of the facts.

When we turn away from matter, to climb the ladder of existence,

when we come to deal with organism and with mind, we find the phenomena less and less subject to repetition at our will—perhaps because their causation is more complex, perhaps because causation is actually a variable. Under such conditions, we encounter more and more of anomalous facts. There exist natural phenomena which we can neither reproduce in our laboratories nor observe at our own will. Finally at the top of the scale, metapsychics seems to show us a transcendence of thought which triumphs over physiological limitations and even, in some measures, over those of time and space.

The incredulity of the scientists is a systematic one, for metapsychics disturbs their conception of the world and, therefore, they will have none of it. We may quote to them another passage from Claude Bernard: "It is better to know nothing than to have a mind occupied with fixed ideas, centered upon theories for which confirmation is perpetually being sought, to the neglect of everything that does not fall into the mold."

The scientists have the most intricate explanations of these phenomena; all really flattering the ingenuity of the medium. But their explanations are harder to accept than ours. Margery has been accused of being magician, electrician, radio-sharp, ventriloquist, writer in nine languages, and concealer of a trained serpent. The old lady read Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress with Explanatory Notes by Scott. At the end she declared it was all perfectly clear to her except the Explanatory Notes!

The attitude of some scientists seems to be: Whatever this is, we are at least sure it is not what it pretends to be. We, on the other hand, hold that possibly it is just what it pretends to be; no hypothesis seems so thoroughly to fit all the facts. One bromide that the smart critic is constantly repeating is something like this: If when we die I must come back and make raps and ring bells, you have added a new horror to death. The actual triviality of the phenomena is a theme for jocose comment for those who know little, and have thought less, on the subject. Well, a lot of trivial episodes have started things. The apple that struck Newton hit the right head to produce results: gravitation was born as a human concept. Watts and his tea-kettle were the beginnings of steam power; Franklin and his kite are part of the story of electricity. It seems as if the wisdom of the plan of things gives our blind race just as much as it can bear and no more. If people can best be convinced of the reality of these manifestations by pranks and antics, the ends

resorted to justify the means. Furthermore, our senses are so limited that much escapes them. Actual experience of an hour carries more conviction than weeks of lectures like this!

Although one should be sternly critical as to all psychic phenomena, there is no doubt that a sympathetic spiritual attitude—namely, that all this may be what it appears to be—aids in getting results. It cannot be too often repeated that psychic research of the best sort is really "psychic" and depends on the spiritual background of the observer. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle puts it well thus: "It is not the bumptious, self-opinionated, sitting with a ludicrous want of proportion as a judge upon spiritual matters, who attains results; but it is he who appreciates that the strict use of reason and observation is not incompatible with humility of mind and that courteous gentleness of demeanor which makes for harmony and sympathy between the inquirer and his subject." The communicating intelligence should be treated as an honored guest.

Sidgwick, at the close of his presidential address, puts it thus: "Scientific incredulity has been so long in growing, and has so many and so strong roots, that we shall only kill it, if we are able to kill it at all, by burying it alive under a heap of facts. We must keep "pegging-away;" we must accumulate fact upon fact, and add experiment upon experiment and not wrangle too much with incredulous outsiders about the conclusiveness of any one, but trust to the mass of evidence for conviction. We must drive the objector into the position of being forced either to admit the phenomena as inexplicable, at least by him, or to accuse his fellow investigators either of lying or cheating, or of a blindness or forgetfulness incompatible with any intellectual condition except absolute idiocy." When the investigators begin to accuse each other you are on a road with no end.

The British S. P. R. has been called "a society for the suppression of facts, for the wholesale imputation of imposture, for the discouragement of the sensitive, and for the repudiation of every revelation of the kind." Despite this, Schrenck-Notzing exhorts his fellow worker to take heart. "Do not allow yourself to be discouraged in your efforts to open a new domain for science either by foolish attacks, by cowardly calumnies, by the misrepresentation of facts, by the violence of the malevolent, or by any sort of intimidation. Advance always along the path you have

opened, thinking of the words of Faraday 'nothing is too amazing to be true.' "

While to the unthinking scoffer, table-tilting, levitation, bell-ringing, etc., may seem trivial in comparison with stage tricks, it must be remembered that those who are seriously investigating these phenomena are not out for a vaudeville entertainment, but are intent on showing that if a single object should move even a single inch without there being a normal physical link of causation between the object and any person or thing in the vicinity, that here we have a phenomenon than which there could be nothing more challenging. That such phenomena have occurred is well attested by competent observers. It is the explanation that bothers the conventional scientist; he cannot pigeon-hole it, therefore he will have none of it.

The purpose of presenting the history of the Margery mediumship up to the present time is solely to make the plea that it be considered earnestly; that it is apparently one of the best examples of this new psychic science. We have here apparently definite exterior motivation which takes place within nine feet of the psychic. We feel that our whole relation to phenomena at present should be merely that of recorders, with precision and scientific methods. The problem of cause and significance is not before us. A scientific study of this medium has no relation necessarily to human survival and return, spiritism or religion.

Curiously enough, there is nothing in our experience which makes us believe that a scientific training or a professorship is alone enough to make a good psychical researcher. William James puts it, "The first difference between the psychical researcher and the inexperienced person is that the former realizes the commonness and typicality of the phenomena, while the latter, less informed, thinks it is so rare as to be unworthy of attention. I wish to go on record for the commonness."

Most of the phenomena in the seance room are things which can be done by a sleight-of-hand artist and are only supernormal if they occur under conditions of control which make it impossible for the psychic to do them. It is a fundamental regulation, therefore, of an honestly conducted investigation that the control of the psychic shall be such that the psychic is anatomically and mechanically incapable of making the phenomena. He should be able to say, before the sitting, "The control is such that fraud is eliminated from the discussion." Constantly we find investigators making a "plant" on

the psychic, either to prevent the phenomena or to leave a loophole in the control through which the investigator himself can escape later and thus avoid admitting that he could not explain the manifestation.

The scientist from the laboratory of chemistry or physics is by training used to controlling all the conditions of an experiment. In psychical research you control only some of the conditions. The other conditions and the results may be as remote and purely observational as astronomy, where we control nothing.

In 1762, Galvani said, "I am persecuted by two classes: the scientists, and the know-it-alls. They call me the frog's dancing master. But I know that I have discovered one of the greatest forces of nature."

It may be readily seen, therefore, from what has been given, that the study of psychics has its vexations.

In this study it is difficult to find men who are free. By that we mean men independent enough of social, economic or academic pressure to be willing to write down, sign, and publish what they see, feel, and hear in the seance room.

The difference between the intellectual slave and the free man is shown by this: A learned professor, faced with the thirtieth repetition of an experiment with his own apparatus, under his own conditions, said, "If I were to declare that to be a supernormal phenomenon, I should have to overthrow the philosophy of a lifetime." In contrast to this, one free and fearless mind, Mr. John Haynes Holmes, speaking on this mediumship only a few months ago, said, "the reality of what is done, under strictest control, is established. In saying this, we are shaking the conviction of a lifetime. But we are interested in convictions only as they are consistent with truth. Truth is what we want."

The story of the Margery mediumship is brief, and consists of a series of well proven facts, but, though typical of the best quality of physical mediumship, it is unique in several respects.

Discovered accidentally in 1923, the mediumship has advanced rapidly and the phenomena which occur appear equally well at home or abroad. Margery enters a laboratory in Paris, or London for the first time, and, under conditions laid down by the most experienced men in the world, the phenomena begin within a few minutes. This is true in New York and Buffalo, apparently in any house, in any place. At the beginning, six people sat round a seven-

teen pound table in red light. It began to tilt and levitate almost at once and it was quickly found, by elimination, who was to blame. A code of raps was established and the names of various discarnate people came through. One, which declared itself to be Walter, brother of the psychic, came to dominate the sittings. After two months the psychic went into trance and Walter spoke through her. During this period other persons in the circle were occasionally seized in trance by the same controlling entity. Whether this entity be a hypnotic impersonation, a secondary personality, or really what it pretends to be—has no bearing on the reality of the physical supernormal phenomena which occur.

Two months later Walter's independent voice first came through; of which more later. Communication was thus made easy and experiments went on of increasing complexity.

In 1924, came a period of observation and investigation by a committee selected by the Scientific American. This was largely a period of comedy. One member, the most experienced student of this subject in the world, declared the phenomena to be of first quality and supernormal. The Secretary of the committee reached the same conclusion. One member said at the end of every sitting, "There are plenty of psychic phenomena here", but he wouldn't write it. Perhaps he was wisely discreet. The third member was deaf. At a sitting in the dark, therefore, with eyes and ears missing, as it were, he might as well have been absent! A fourth member, whose knowledge of wriggling out of strait-jackets and handcuffs was as great as his ignorance of psychics, came with his mind made up before he started. The last member saw apparatus used, of his own making, under his own conditions, over forty times, but decided it could not be true because he would not believe it. These inexplicable occurrences did not fit into his already formed philosophy, and the intellectual hole he found himself in was a bit uncomfortable. The signed notes of the Scientific American Committee are entirely accurate and contain no implication of normal production of phenomena.

Now people began coming from all over this country, together with visitors from Canada and Europe, Mexico, Brazil and New Zealand. No effort is made to establish a center of propaganda and no one is asked his opinion, but each sitter was and is required before he leaves to write down what he has observed. Interest in the subject grows like a rolling snowball. Students and Faculty

members from many colleges are on the waiting-list: Clark, Tufts, Yale, Smith, Harvard, Michigan, Nebraska, Johns Hopkins, Oxford, Princeton, Maine, Columbia and Technology. The observers include men and women of all classes: editors, teachers, doctors, lawyers, ministers of all denominations, and business men.

The next flurry in this merry battle was in June, 1925, when a group of four junior instructors at Harvard College with an occasional professor as a guest, asked leave to observe things out there *under their own conditions.* This was readily granted, under our usual conditions, which are two in number: first, that the notes shall be made on the dictaphone while the events are occurring, and that these notes shall be signed by all present and given to the medium before another sitting; and second, that any fraud or implication of fraud shall be entered in the dictaphonic notes or shall be deemed nonexistent. Under these conditions there were eight wonderful sittings, the notes of which have recently been published;[1] without addition, subtraction or any change whatsoever. These notes are so precise and so accurate and so perfectly record everything that happened, that the mediumship is glad to stand or fall on the Harvard notes. This series of eight sittings, in which there was no flaw and no way to escape the psychic origin of the phenomena, was entirely unofficial as far as Harvard went, but, nevertheless, was in a fair way to commit the name of Harvard to the endorsement of the medium. This would be a very serious matter for any educational institution in any American community at this moment. Charges of trickery were hurled into the newspapers by the Harvard group without a single reference to their own notes. They knew it was not trickery but that was their only way out. There can be no blame attached to these men for seeking to protect the name of Harvard from endorsing in any way the phenomena of the seance room. The only possible reproach to them is that they should have begun an investigation like this without visualizing the possibility that they might have to endorse it. The friends of Margery can only laugh at them and forgive them. The dictaphone records and its memory never fails!

In June, 1926, Mr. Eric J. Dingwall, Research Officer of the (British) Society for Psychical Research, made a report on the Margery Mediumship. It was based on his experiments in Janu-

[1]Margery, Harvard, Veritas, 1926. To be obtained on application.

ary and February, 1925. Mr. Dingwall's comments on his own paper is: "Those who have read it have all come to different opinions as to the real views of the author," as if this were something of which an author should boast! The Honorable Everard Feilding says of it "circumstances led him to box the compass of most opinions and to end with none." Mr. Dingwall declares explicitly, however, "I have never on any occasion detected anything that could be called fraud or deceit." At the time of his sitting, he wrote a private letter to Baron von Schrenck-Notzing, which was later published.[2] In this he said, "It is the most beautiful case of teleplasmic telekinesis with which I am acquainted. We can freely touch the teleplasm. The materialized hands are joined by cords to the medium's body; they seize objects and move them. The teleplasmic masses are visible and tangible upon the table in excellent red light. I held the medium's hands; I saw (teleplasmic) figures and felt them in good light. The 'control' is irreproachable."

Suddenly Mr. Dingwall's enthusiasm received a damper. January 18, 1925, Dr. William McDougall wrote a letter to Mr. Dingwall marked "strictly confidential" but later published by him.[3] In this letter he wrote: "My testimony to it would, I venture to think, carry considerable weight, even in the scientific world; whereas a favorable report by you, if not supported or confirmed by me, might fail to do so. It is highly probable, or even inevitable that, when you report the ectoplasmic phenomena to be genuine, you will be accused by the scientists of being an accomplice, of being in collusion with "Margery." Your best defense against this would be my concordant testimony and support. Further, I shall, no doubt, be expected to render some report to the English S. P. R.: and it will be very unsatisfactory from every point of view, if your report and mine on the same series of sittings are in serious disagreement . . . . you express yourself frankly as satisfied of the reality of the ectoplasm. That is good as far as it goes; but it seems to me, you are bound to try to carry me along with you."

This quotation shows the character of the investigators. The question raised is not *"What is true?"* but *"What is expedient to report?"*

The Professor apparently feels it his duty to destroy the medium-

[2]Revue Metapsychique, February, 1925.
[3]Journal Am. S. P. R. June, 1925. P. 301.

ship and is unhappy because his dictum has not already done so. He kills it but it will not die. Thus in 'Psyche,' October, 1926, he writes: "It might have been hoped that the adverse verdict of the Scientific American Committee, followed as it was by Mr. Hoagland's article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for November, 1925, would have satisfied all but a few resolute believers that the claims made on behalf of this medium have no solid foundation. But it would seem clear that no such result has been obtained . . . . Her many partisans, some of whom are persons of excellent standing, continue to make public large claims on her behalf, claims which, if they were well founded, should establish her as perhaps the most remarkable medium of all time."

Before giving the details of the kinds of phenomena, one may well anticipate a legitimate question which is always propounded. Why must these occurrences take place in the dark or in red light? The really complete answer is: these things take place in the dark because such is the law governing them. One might say, "Why pick on me? I did not make the universe nor its psychic laws." A more serious effort, however, to answer the question, with what knowledge we have, would be as follows: The production of the teleplasmic rods which come from the body of the medium is a vital process, akin in some way, perhaps, to birth. If you will reflect, you will admit at once that nearly all vital processes go on in the dark and in the dark only. Brain action, respiration, heart beat, digestion and gestation all go on only in the dark. In short, a property of teleplasm is that it is soluble in light. Consider the conditions of the development of a photographic plate. This may be done only in a light no stronger than red. The development of a plate for colored photography must be done in absolute dark. The necessity, then, of darkness, or red light for psychic experiments only calls for a little ingenuity on the part of the observer, to insure good conditions of control.

The visitor from Mars is told that one-third of our day is spent as if dead. We call it sleep. "I don't believe it," says he. "Show me." Six observers then gather round a person for the test and shout "sleep!" If no sleep ensues—it's a fraud! A request for quiet and darkness would be very suspicious.

The singular quality of this mediumship may be put under five headings:

1. Rigidity of control
2. The proved independent voice
3. The great variety of phenomena
4. The photographs
5. The finger-prints.

Rigidity of control—The psychic sits clad only in a kimono, one under-garment and stockings, and, after a thorough search, she enters the glass cabinet, where she has a privacy and an opportunity to put over tricks comparable to that of the gold fish!

The upper and lower margins of the undergarment are held to the skin by surgeon's adhesive tape; and blue skin pencil-markings criss-cross the margins in all directions. Stocking-tops are similarly covered. Shoes are fastened on with "figure of eight" surgeon's plaster similarly marked with pencil. The Psychic's wrists and ankles are fastened with No. 2 picture wire (strength, 128 lbs.) fastened by square knots and surgeon's knots and the free ends of these four fastened to eye bolts in the floor of the cabinet and to the outside of side-holes in the glass cabinet (Figure 1) and the ends closed with railway express lead seals. The parts of the wire going around wrists and ankles are made immobile by surgeon's tape and the position of the tape made permanent by blue pencil marks. The Psychic's knees are wrapped from 4 inches above the knee to 4 inches below the knee with surgeon's tape, binding the knees fast together, leaving no room between them. The Psychic wears, besides the garments already described, only a searched kimono. Her mouth, ears and short-cut hair are searched, and the neck is fastened tightly, to prevent any movement forwards, by a locked leather collar fastened by a horizontal rope leading to an eye-bolt in the back of the cabinet. She sits in a wooden Windsor chair fastened to the floor of the cabinet. The distance from the wire knots to the eye-bolts is recorded. The general outline of the Psychic's body, including arms, wrists, ankles, knees and head are visible at all times by the insertion of 50 large-headed luminous pins. All the lashing is done by the most skeptical sitter present. Under these conditions,[4] the phenomena to be described, occur.

[4]Explicit detailed notes of a sitting under this rigid control is published in the Journal American S. P. R., November, 1926. It is signed by eight sitters, two of whom are Dr. C. McComas, Professor of Psychology, Princeton University, and Dr. H. A. Overstreet, Professor of Philosophy, College of the City of New York. These two gentlemen were in charge of the seance.

Although this mediumship has several qualities which make it unique, it is, nevertheless, typical of all the best mediumships in history, and presents, it is believed, more kinds of phenomena than any other, at least, that has been recorded. Notes have been kept, in laboratory fashion, of every sitting, from the first. Every phenomenon hereinafter described is to be found in the signed notes. The categories are seventeen in number as follows:

1. *Breezes* from the cabinet, with a recorded drop in temperature from 70 degrees to 42 degrees, a total of 28 degrees.

2. *Raps.* These are heard anywhere within 15 feet of the psychic and they vary in sound from a soft tap with the finger, up to a sound like the kick of a heavy shoe. There may be gentle raps under the table, and when the stethoscope is laid on top of the table the sound can be analyzed as if it were made by a finger and nothing else. They occur high and low in the room and may even be heard as if made by some metal terminal. Thus apparent communicating raps have been heard on a woman sitter's wedding ring. At other times luminous apparatus of the seance room may be seen lifted and used to make raps against the side of the cabinet or elsewhere. These raps apparently answer questions intelligently and the usual code has been used for communication by raps, namely: 1.—*No;* 3.—*Yes;* 2.—*Don't Know;* 4.—*good night;* 5.—*good evening;* 6.—*Be silent;* etc. As a means of communication, the raps were quickly superseded in this mediumship for an easier means.

3. *Table-Tilting.* This was the first manifestation in this mediumship and, using the same code, communication was apparently established with some intelligence. The table used was built on the specifications of Crawford, namely, a seventeen-pound table, rough wood, no nails. This same force came shortly to be used for

4. *Telekinesis by teleplasmic rods.* The table sometimes, with only superficial contact of the sitters' fingers on top of it, in good red light, will move itself about from one room to another, and even go down stairs. On one occasion it led directly to an article of jewelry which had been lost for a year and a half. It will at times be lifted as high as the sitters can reach above the floor and then will dance about in the air, keeping perfect time with music on the victrola. It has also been levitated with a 160-pound man sitting on it. It has also been levitated (once only) in good white light,

without hand-contact, at the rooms of the (British) S. P. R. in London. Several times a reasonable effort was made by two observers lying on the floor to hold it down—but in vain—the ultimate pull being 30 to 40 pounds upwards; all this in red light. Other objects are also levitated such as straw baskets with luminous bands on them; "Doughnuts" or rings, made of stiff paper, luminous on one side; a three-pound papier-maché megaphone, also illuminated, and other objects even as small as a luminous-headed pin. The piano stool has been moved in good red light seven feet ten inches, the nearest person (including the psychic) being ten feet away. Such levitation takes place under the strictest conditions of control, to be described later, and, if desired as a test, in the presence of only one observer. Many times two small luminous objects such as a doughnut and a basket are in the air at the same time, moving not parallel to each other and not at the same rate of speed, and they may be seen to be moving in all three possible directions during one levitation. Such objects are taken from the hand of the observer and levitated and a luminous "doughnut" may be thus taken from the observer through a small hole in the front of the cabinet, levitated about and is then pushed through a side hole in the cabinet. A luminous basket may be lifted from the floor, carried out from the cabinet as far as five feet from the psychic into the middle of the circle of sitters, in front of the cabinet, and will be levitated high and low, will touch the hands of the sitters and then will be carried back into the cabinet, far above the head of the psychic and behind her head, all under conditions of physical control so perfect that the psychic could not do any of these things by normal means. A sitter and his chair may be completely revolved on the floor by a force of which he knows nothing, and several times sitters have been spilled out of their chairs.

5. *Telekinesis by energy only, without teleplasmic rods.* There are two outstanding cases of this in the mediumship, both of which have been repeated so many hundreds of times under such absolute conditions of control that they are established as supernormal beyond question.

5A. *The Bell-box.* This is a box, 14" x 8" x 5", made of shellacked white pine. It contains two dry-cell batteries and an electric bell. On top of the cover is a wooden flapper as large as the cover, held up by a spring. If the flapper is pressed downwards, two

MARGERY

FIGURE 1

The plate glass cabinet. Margery sits in it with ankles and wrists lashed to eye-bolts with No. 2 picture wire, the hands being outside the cabinet resting on little shelves. The head is controlled by a locked leather collar and rope in such manner that it cannot move forward. She is searched, and clad in two garments besides stockings and shoes.

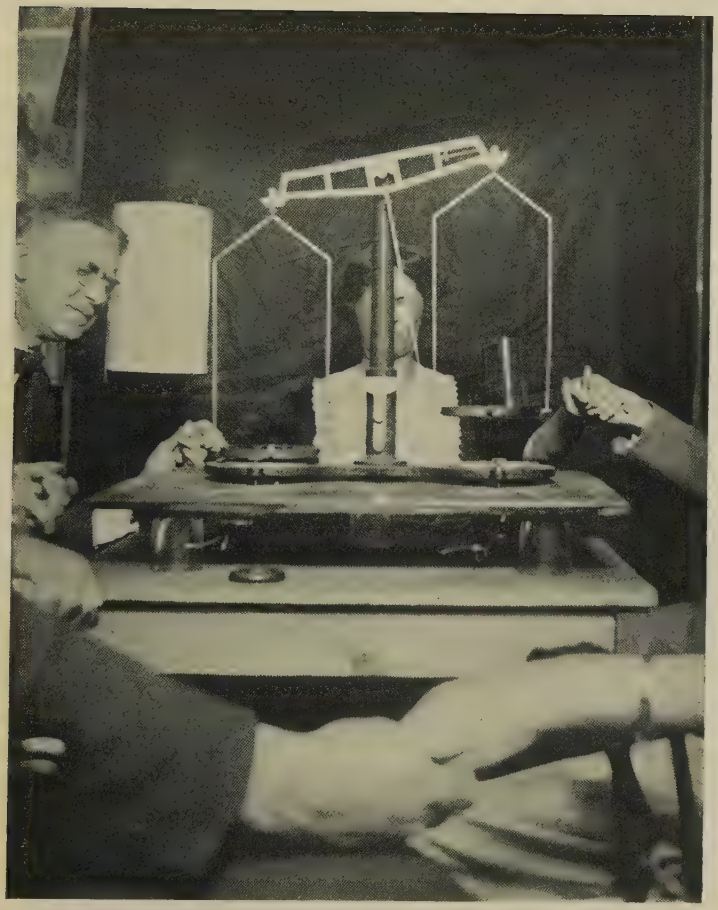

FIGURE 2

A pair of chemical balances made of brass, with wooden pans; a steel balancing knife edge rests on an agate bed. The pan on the left has 4 weights, the pan on the right, none. These are made to balance as if equally loaded. The quartz lens camera reveals always a cylindrical psychic structure on the unloaded pan. This is invisible to the human eye and is intangible.

FIGURE 3

Walter's hand ringing the bell box. We could not see this big left hand on top of the bell box in good red light, but 1-50th second white flash light, with the quartz lens camera, reveals it on the plate.

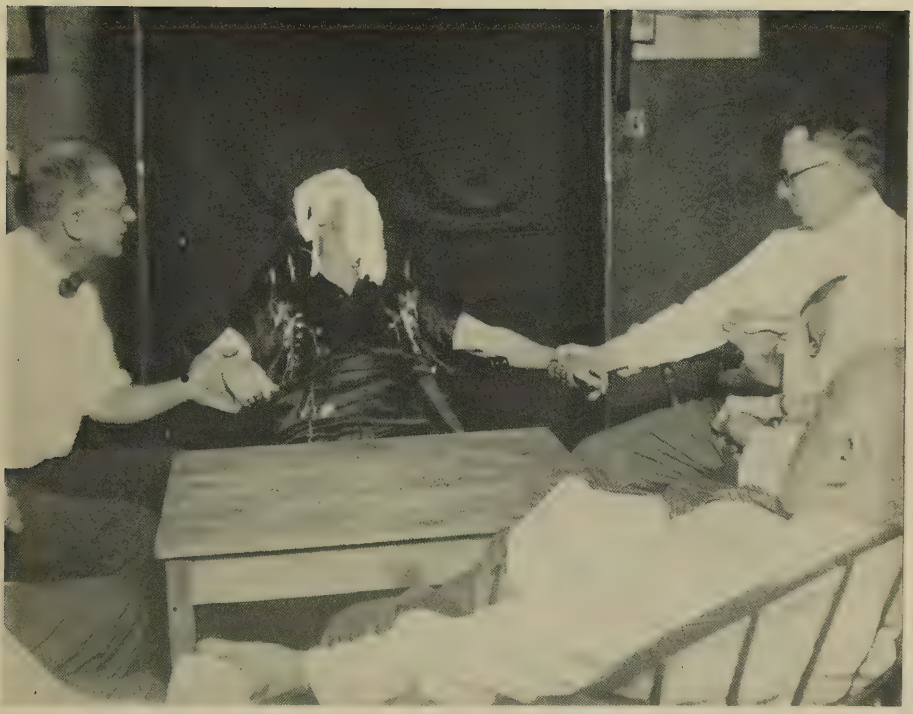

FIGURE 4

Head teleplasm. This substance is seen growing from the right ear; it crawls out over the face; it is creamy white, rubbery to feel, has a temperature of 40°F. It may grow downwards so as to cover the Psychic's body, seven feet high and two feet wide.

FIGURE 5

Walter's voice mechanism. This is a grayish mass like a large potato. There is a fine white string to it from the right ear and another structure much like an umbilical cord going from the mass into the right nostril of the Psychic.

FIGURE 6

Dr. Mark W. Richardson's Voice-Cut-Out machine. This is a U-tube with two luminous floats. The Psychic and the sole sitter each blows to hold the floats in a position of disequilibrium. To do this the glass tip must be held by the teeth and three holes in it must be covered by the lips and tongue. Under these conditions the Psychic can neither talk nor whistle but Walter can do both freely. This occurs in whatever house the experiment is made.

FIGURE 7

A paraffine glove. A pail of melted paraffine, stained for identification, is placed in front of the Psychic; beside it is a pail of cold water. At the end of the sitting a paraffine glove is found with a wrist so narrow that no human hand could get out of it.

copper terminals come together and the bell in the box rings. The box is padlocked after examination, before the sitting, and it is examined similarly after the sitting. There is no apparent way to ring the bell but by bringing the two terminals together. This box was devised and made by the Scientific American Committee and was declared by them to be fraud-proof. In red light this box may be picked up by any sitter. After he has lifted it, the bell will ring intermittently while the holder of it walks about the room as far as he can go in that room, nearly nine feet; is held high and low, and the holder may turn himself about in complete circles or may hand the box through the hands of every sitter, sometimes as many as fifteen, and the bell will continue to ring with irregular intermittency, and will end ringing in the same period of red light. It may be inspected then and there during the same period of red light with the addition of white flash light and no normal explanation is found. As another experiment, with the box sitting in red light on the table, the bell will ring in "longs" and "shorts" in combination of sequence designated by any sitter, the whole experiment, from the verbal requests to examination of the box, carrying on through and ending in the same period of good red light.

5B. *A pair of Chemical Balances* (Figure 2) made wholly of brass, except for wooden pans and a steel balancing edge resting on a piece of agate, are used. In this experiment either pan of the balance is loaded with three to six wooden weights (checkers) and the other pan has none. These unequally loaded pans are made, by Walter, to balance as if equally loaded. This experiment begins and ends in the dark but is to be seen clearly in the red light for a period of 5 to 25 seconds. While being examined in red light the psychic can leave the cabinet and the hands of the sitters may be passed above and below the pans, over and around the balances complete, all possible threads from any sitter to the balances being thus ruled out. As a second variety of this experiment, while the unevenly loaded but balanced pans, either static or in oscillation, are seen to be balancing, the whole scale-unit with its base may be picked up by the observer and white flash light played on it and all around it showing it to have no connection with anything nearby. Photographs before and after, as well as examination before and after, show the scales to be unchanged in all respects, and no normal explanation of the experiment is forthcoming.

Dr. R. T. Tillyard, F. R. S., writing to Professor Wm. McDougall of Harvard, May 6, 1926, about the balance experiment, said: "I must give it as my deliberate opinion that this experiment is about as perfect as human ingenuity can devise. Taken in conjunction with the photographs, (See category 10, below) which show the "psychic cylinder," in the empty pan, I think this constitutes a very strong case for both validity and also for the supernormal origin of the phenomenon."

6. *Trance-Voice.* Early in the mediumship and for a period of not over two months there was the ordinary trance-voice such as all subjective mediums have. This voice was contralto, of a masculine timbre, and used a vocabulary not characteristic of the psychic.

7. *Trance-Writing.* At one sitting only has this phenomenon appeared. On this occasion the psychic in trance in red light made motions with her hand as if to write. An envelope was hurriedly put on the table as the only paper available. A pencil was put in the psychic's hand. Her head was turned over her left shoulder. The eyes were closed tight. The hand then wrote in Latin "Qui creavit te sine te non salvit te sine te:" a Delphic remark for your consideration. Large sheets of paper were now brought and the psychic went on writing with great rapidity and perfect lineation, communicating in nine languages, including Latin, Ancient Italian, Modern Italian, French, German, Swedish, Danish, Spanish, Anglicized Chinese, and Chinese Ideographs. Some of these when written were shoved violently across at one sitter or another as if meant for him.

7A. *Automatic Writing* has been observed a number of times.

8. *Musical sounds of super-normal origin.* Early in the mediumship the control (Walter) said one night: "I am going to try something which I believe has never been done before. The Admiral is going to help me. You are to remain in circle, unbroken, no matter how long." The psychic then went into deeper trance with head bowed low, in red light, and so remained 28 minutes. At the end of that time her head was raised. An expression of satisfaction appeared on the face, though her eyes were closed, and then all 14 sitters heard in the room a chime-like rendering of the "Taps" of the American Navy. It was a pure sound—no sound of the impact as of hammer on gong and no other sound to indicate any instrument. It was more like a ship's bell heard through the

fog some distance away. There was no instrument in the house that could make such a sound, and there was no radio. This experiment later was repeated about nine times, apparently needing less effort and certainly less time on each occasion. Later the notes of the piano were heard; on another occasion, for an ex-officer of the British Army, apparently three buglers, playing separate instruments, could be heard, like trumpeters sounding the "9 P. M. Call" of the British Army. Other instruments have been made to give forth their notes. Another manifestation of this same class is the striking of the bell-like notes of a large clock, deep in tone and very slow. We call it the "Celestial Clock." Walter calls it his "Wee Watchie."

9. *Perfumes.* On one occasion only a phenomenon of this class appeared. Each sitter in turn was made to smell and reported an odor which might be described as a combination of Lily-of-the-Valley and Rose, oppressively sweet and oriental in character.

10. *Supernormal lights.* These lights have varied from small, pin-head points up to great moving, twisting columns of luminosity, 2 feet wide by 7 feet high. Such a column of light as this has been angulated in two places as if a human figure were seated on the table and a bifurcation of the lower section swings like two legs from the edge of the table. A luminous mass the size and shape of a human eye is seen going about the room and appears to wink. A luminous object may take on the form of a human mouth—a voice comes from it. Rod-like projections of light will come forth from the cabinet and touch the clothing, or hands or heads of the sitters, who see and feel the impact. Another subdivision of this class is when the object, painted with luminous bands, (zinc sulphure, lumineux) not activated (as it must be by exposure to white light before the sitting) is suddenly made luminous as if the control were activating it from some source of light entirely ultra-violet. If a hand is put on such a non-activated painted surface the control can make the area shine under the hand. The amount of activating light must be small because the luminosity thus made does not long endure. A figure as of a luminous rose was once seen on the ceiling.

11. *Materialization invisible to the human eye, some of them, at least, intangible.* Many times, under instructions of Walter, flash lights of the medium's cabinet and method of control and table have been taken. Many times these have shown objects which the

eye did not see. For example: flash lights (1/50th of a second, magnesium powder) were made of the aforementioned balances, one wooden pan of which contained five wooden weights and the other pan none. These unequally loaded pans can be seen balancing evenly or in perfect equal oscillation, overcoming gravity. On developing these plates, there is always seen on the lighter pan or near it, a cylinder (Figure 2) about eight inches tall and three or four inches in diameter, looking as if made of celluloid. This is not to be seen by a human eye, and a hand passed above the empty pan, and close to it, while the phenomenon is going on, fails to feel such a cylinder. Yet always the camera, equipped with a fused quartz lens, reveals this psychic structure. The glass lens does not photograph it. Hence, we assume that we have here a psychic structure invisible and intangible, but yet giving out or illuminated by ultra-violet rays. In this class appears also materialization of a luminosity insufficient to reach the human eye and yet recordable by a quartz lens camera. Walter says, "I will show you my hand ringing the bell box." The red light shows the bell box ringing but nothing as to what is ringing it. The flash light used with quartz lens shows a large white hand ringing the bell box (Figure 3). A megaphone has been photographed in the air, apparently unsupported by any normal structure. A table has been photographed in good levitation. Hands are seen in other parts of the plate from time to time. Photographs were wanted of the bell box for publication purposes. The photograph was taken in bright sunlight in the fourth story of the house. The photographer, an instructor of the Mass. Institute of Technology, using his own camera and plates, was alone in the room with the bell-box in the bright sun of noon. The psychic, being the only other person in the house, was in the basement.. Three photographs of the bell box were taken and all of these showed a white fog, irregular, over the middle of the plate, and in that fog, in a different part of each plate and in different relation to the box, there appeared the profile of a man. The photographer says he knows of no way in which he could normally thus be-fog a plate.

12. *Materialization felt but not seen.* Hundreds of times under conditions of perfect control, sitters have been touched as if by a human hand or as if by soft rods. These structures are soft, rubbery, cold (40° F.), yet feel as if they contained a firm core. They will appear as firm black hands over a luminous plaque or may be seen

picking up luminous structures. They may be rods from 1-6 of an inch up to 2 inches in diameter, blunt or pointed. They may appear as a two-pronged instrument. It may come in shape like a French loaf and push against leg, body or head of a sitter. It may appear as a perfected hand over a luminous plaque. These structures are mobile and directed by intelligence.

13. *Materialization visible and tangible.* In good red light there appear hands of normal size, made of teleplasm, sometimes crude and without skin, then with skin, with or without finger nails, sometimes with two fingers fused into one but with two nails. The whole hand and forearm may appear. The fingers never contain more than two phalanges. All the bones of the palm may be missing and the forearm may contain one or two long bones. These hands move intelligently under good red light. The hand may engage in a tug of war over a luminous basket, the other handle of which is held by the sitter. These materializations are always connected with the body of the psychic by a cord resembling that which attaches the new born infant to the mother. This cord may be felt down to its origin as in a normal birth process. To feel, it is clammy, illustrating a description made of it by William Blake, the Mystic, 150 years ago when he said it was "Wet with the water which wets not".

There is a variety of the material teleplasm (or ectoplasm) which has a different source and character. It comes from the right ear (Figure 4) of the psychic and is pure white, whereas the color of the hands described above is greyish. This head teleplasm is cold, feels wet or clammy, and may develop and spread over the whole head and face of the psychic and pour down into her lap; though it remains connected with the ear. It may be seen and felt to develop and grow downwards. A great sheet of it sometimes extends down five feet as if draped over a kind of proboscis arising from the face of the psychic. This mass appears lace-like in structure, but that is only appearance. There are really no holes in it. A structure is produced from time to time, which Walter says is the machine by which his independent voice talks (Figure 5). It is a greyish mass looking more or less like a large potato (4"x3"x2") which lies on the right shoulder or chest of the psychic and is pendant from a fine white cord out of the right ear. From this mass there goes up to the right nostril of the psychic a structure like an umbilical cord of the new born. It is twisted and fleshy. All the structures described under

this heading have been photographed many times not only by a quartz lens but by glass camera, single and sterescopic, and the plates confirmed in each instance what our eyes beheld. The teleplasmic structures, after exposure to the white flash for the photographs, become luminous for a few seconds and then shrink visibly as if dissolving. These structures have been studied at the moment of their appearance and at the moment of their disappearance. Apparently they disintegrate in the same manner as has been observed of snow in the recent expedition up Mt. Everest. Snow at high altitudes, in evaporation, apparently does not pass through the watery stage: you observe snow, and then nothing.

14. *The Independent Voice.* As has been stated, trance and trance speaking appeared two months after the beginning of the mediumship, and lasted about two months. The first night a hiss like the end of the word "yes—s—s" was heard in the far corner of the seance room. At the next sitting the word "Cassie" was heard in the doorway, (and was evidential). At the next sitting faint whispers were heard in the cabinet from the region near the medium's head. This whispered voice got stronger at each subsequent sitting and has remained ever since. It now may be described as a masculine, guttural whisper. A keen and matter-of-fact-lawyer who sat occasionally said what every mind with good sense would say: "A healthy young woman goes into a dark cabinet and a healthy young voice comes out of it; one and one make two!" We could not gainsay that. But we were not content with that. A hand was put over the medium's mouth by Dr. Comstock and the voice went on as before. This same experiment has been done by Dr. Carrington, by Mr. Bird and by others with the same result, and these reports have been published. The next objective thing to do was to fill the mouth of the medium with water and this has been done many times. The voice goes on unimpeded and at the end of the experiment the psychic ejects the same amount of water and there is nothing to suggest that the water comes from the stomach.

Dr. Mark W. Richardson, in many respects the best mind that has studied the mediumship, now sought a mechanical proof of the independence of the Walter voice which should be automatic and unquestioned. He devised therefore what he calls "the voice-cut-out-machine". (Figure 6) This has a U-tube 3 ft. high and 1¼ inches in diameter. One arm of this connects by a flexible metal gas-pipe with the mouth of the Medium. There are two luminous corks

floating at the same level in each arm of the U-tube. The metal tube to the mouth has attached at its end a glass mouthpiece (See Figure 6), so shaped that it cannot be pushed beyond a certain flange into the mouth. There is a hole which must be covered by the upper lip, another which must be covered by the lower lip, and after the psychic blows up the floats, the tongue must cover the end of the glass tip, to keep the floats in a state of disequilibrium.

The psychic's hands are held or lashed with wire (to prevent the hand being put on the upper end of the U-tube). The glass tip is put into her mouth. She blows until the floats are about 20 inches apart in level, and then in the dark, under these conditions, the Walter voice talks and whistles freely; will whistle any tune requested, if he knows it, and takes apparent delight in pronouncing words which contain many labial, dental and lingual sounds. This experiment will last as long as the psychic's teeth will endure the weight of the tip and tube (usually about two minutes). It is interesting to note that the first time this tube was tried was in a house in which none of the circle had ever been before and the experiment was carried out by the psychic and Dr. Richardson alone in a closed room. The experimental results were just as good on that first night in a strange house as they have been ever since. In other words, no practice was necessary because the voice is produced independently. It is thus independent not of the Psychic's presence, but independent of her normal anatomy and physiology.

Concerning the mechanism by which the independent voice is produced, a materialization of some kind must be necessary. Sure enough —in due time Walter promised to show us his voice apparatus. He does so and we are allowed to see it, feel it and photograph it. (See Figure 5, and description in Section 12). Walter explains that when we want the experiment of hand-over-mouth-and-nose of the Psychic, he must attach this voice apparatus of his to some other part of the Psychic, that this is difficult and that whenever this experiment is done, he can do no other phenomena that night, and such has been our experience.

14-A. *Other Respiratory Phenomena.* Dr. Richardson, with his clear thinking and quietly persistent mind, proceeded with experiments to see if more than one alleged discarnate could exhibit signs of respiratory materializations. He placed in front of the Psychic in her glass cabinet a shelf. On this shelf is put a blow bottle half full of baryta water (saturated solution of Barium Hy-

drate). To the inlet tube, is attached a metal pipe held by a wooden clamp towards the Psychic, about 30 inches away from her mouth. Her mouth and the apparatus cannot get nearer together. Now the Psychic blows up the voice machine. Walter talks and there is a passage of bubbles through the baryta water. Not only are these bubbles heard, but luminous floating glass pellets may be seen and heard dancing up and down in the baryta water. Here, then, we have the Psychic's mouth fully occupied, the voice talking and bubbles coming through the blow bottle. After the experiment the baryta water showed precipitation of barium carbonate from carbonic acid gas, as from a normal lung. As a check, blowing cabinet-air through a bottle of baryta water the same length of time (40 seconds) gives a faint precipitation, but not so much by far as a human breath gives.

This experiment is now repeated without the voice cut-out-machine but with Dr. Richardson's hand over the Psychic's mouth and nose and no one else in the room. To further complicate this experiment, Walter said one night, "Now, Mark (one of Walter's band) will blow through the Barium water and there will be no precipitation. He will bring his own gas with him." The Psychic blew up the voice-machine, Walter talked, the bubbles came through the baryta water and examination afterwards showed no precipitation in the bottle. When Dr. Richardson blew through the same baryta water, however, normal precipitation occurred. This showed that some gas other than carbonic acid passed through the bottle in this experiment.

15. *Apports and deports.* On this part of the manifestations we bear lightly. It includes moving objects into and out of a closed room. They are most difficult to believe. They involve either the actual existence of a four-dimensional world or depend on the very latest concept of matter, namely energy and the motion of atoms without collisions whereby one solid may pass through another. These are discontinuous physical phenomena. Together with haunts, ghosts and psychometry, apports form a class difficult for science to explain without turning to discarnate entities.

In this mediumship there have been ten instances of apport and one of deport. They include antique jewelry, flowers and a live pigeon. The conditions of each occasion have been good, but really to be of scientific value such manifestations would have to appear with the psychic enclosed in cement and sitting in an all cement cell. Presumption of validity must rest: (1) on search of medium, sitters and the room, and (2) on the nature of the thing apported and whether

it could be normally obtained, secreted and delivered under the seance conditions.

16-A. *Paraffine Gloves.* (Figure 7). Another line of experimentation on which extended reports will be made later, is the making of paraffine gloves. There are put on low stools in front of the Psychic, a papier-maché pail containing 8 quarts of melted paraffine on top of 3 or 4 inches of boiling water (making the temperature 212° when it leaves the kitchen, and 180° at the end of the experiment), and beside this pail a galvanized pail full of cold water. Through the sitting, under controlled conditions, we hear a lot of flopping about in both pails as if a large fish were in one or the other. At the end of the sitting, 30 to 60 minutes, we find in the pail of water or alongside it, one, two to three gloves made of the molten paraffine, now hardened. In the wrist end is a small hole out of which no human hand could get. These gloves may now be filled with an emulsion of Plaster of Paris. When this is hardened the paraffine is melted off and we have a cast of the psychic glove. This cast of a hand is not that of the medium, is always masculine, and may resemble that of one of the sitters. It is needless to say that at the end of the sitting, before anyone moves, every hand is examined for traces of paraffine. The hand so far has always been a right hand and the casts show finger-tip markings not like those of any sitter. The Psychic's husband has a deformed right index-nail which has never been seen in one of the casts. The end-joint of a finger is sometimes formed. Two gloves in one unit have been formed, palm to palm, and both are rights. Similar experiments, with striking perfection, have been conducted by Klusky, the Polish (amateur) medium.

16-B. *The Finger-prints.* One of the latest experiments has turned out to be one of the most impressive. We take a plate of dental wax (called "Kerr") and make it soft by immersion in boiling water. Every *sitter* now makes his two thumb-prints on a cake of the wax and each is labeled with the name of the sitter. A similar cake, marked for identification, is now put in a shallow dish of hot water in front of the medium, in trance, under strict conditions of search and control, in a searched room. After a while Walter says, "There's my thumb-print for you," and examination of the marked cake shows a thumb-print which is not that of any sitter. In addition, five nights later the same experiment shows a print of the identical thumb as the first night, and still not that of any sitter. In

all we have seven prints, six of which are negatives and one a positive. A Police Captain, who has charge of the finger-print bureau of criminals in a large city, has been asked to study these prints. He says that all seven are *identical* with each other and are *not* those of any of the sitters.

If you will reflect upon this simple and yet amazing experiment you will see that it must form one of the last facts to establish the *presence in the room of a person not one of us.*

The clinching factor of uniqueness in this mediumship comes when three cameras, one on the east, one on the west, and one on the north, the latter having a fused-quartz lens, record the materializations which our eyes have seen. Hypnotism and hallucination are thus eliminated. We have over 100 such photographs.

17. *The Subjective Walter.* The Margery mediumship is essentially physical in its manifestations. Nevertheless, one cannot talk night after night, over 500 times, with a voice from the cabinet, without feeling acquainted with the intelligent owner of the voice. In this way, as in every human contact, we have learned to know and to love the apparent personality which declares itself to be Walter. From this long period of communication, naturally, we have picked up bits of information as to the state of being in which Walter finds himself and get, from time to time, glimpses of his methods and vistas of his world.

Walter is good-naturedly willing to be called a "secondary personality," a "hypnotic impersonation", a "mindkin" (C. D. Broad), a "prosopopesis" (Sudre) or "entelechy" (Driesch). In fact, he says, "You may call me anything but 'It'!"

Seance action presents three elements: (1) There is the "prosopopesis" which, genuinely or fictitiously presents the picture of the presence and activity of a personality from another world. (2) There is the cryptesthesia, the display of knowledge or abilities which the medium could not normally own. (3) There is the physical action, the display of mechanical effects that go beyond what mechanistic science can explain.

From an early date this mediumship has been characterized by the free whispered conversation of the control. Thanks to Dr. Richardson, we have proved that over long intervals of the seance, this whisper is a physico-psychic phenomenon. This brings us to consideration, from the subjective viewpoint, of what Walter says. His conversation is different from that of the average control, and

sitters find contact with him a correspondingly new experience. He does not sermonize or pass out messages from one's deceased friends; he simply takes a normal part in the social and scientific interplay of conversation. Believer or unbeliever or straddler, the sitter goes away with a lively sense of having met Walter.

An ingenious observation of this medium was made by Dr. H. C. Longwell, Professor of Philosophy at Princeton. He said in effect: It is apparent that when Walter talks while he is carrying on a physical experiment, that the talk is distracted like that of anyone who talks while he works. This proves the *doer* and the *talker* to be *one*. But we prove by the lashed control that the psychic is not the *doer*, hence the psychic is *not* the talker.

From long experience we feel justified in attempting to classify the subjective side of the mediumship into four groups:

A. Physical phenomena plus a subjective factor possibly telepathic.

B. Physical phenomena plus a subjective factor from which telepathy is excluded.

C. Pure subjective matter from which telepathy is excluded. The instances which I shall cite under these headings will be suggestive of subdivision. Thus, under A, we have a large group of phenomena which we may classify together as:

A-1: Identification by Walter of objects known to sitter.

This performance has been given at 76 sittings; it is a current feature, so the number increases weekly. I will not describe again the control against possible normal knowledge in the totally dark room by the psychic. Confederacy, the only refuge left the impervious skeptic, would call for participation by an absurd number of persons not known to Margery prior to their appearance in her seance room, plus a system of silent signalling between remote parts of the dark room.

The more thoughtful skeptic will perhaps fall back upon visual hyperaesthesia. On July 26th, 1925, Mr. Bird was present, but stayed out of the circle. During the entire seance he stood directly behind the psychic, controlling her hands by reaching over her shoulders, and controlling her head when necessary by contact with his own. His outlook across the circle therefore coincided with hers. The darkness was such that after an hour, he was still unable to observe the slightest silhouetting of the sitters at the far side of the circle. If the psychic can see with her eyes under such conditions, this is itself a psychic phenomenon.

During the period in question, a penknife, a magnifying glass in a leather case, some paper money, a purse, a hairpin, a shoe and a pair of scissors were placed on the table by one sitter or another, and all completely identified by Walter. A commutation ticket was stated to be a piece of card or paper, and a toothpick to be "too personal" for naming. No other objects were offered, so there were no failures. The hairpin was put out when a male sitter, called upon for a contribution, robbed his neighbor to subject Walter to a searching test. Walter's response was unusually prompt: "Ha, Eddie; thought you'd fool me, did you? Laura, pick up your hairpin."

This performance stands apart from most of Walter's identifications of objects, in that several of the contributions were placed on the table remote from Margery, the identifications being made apparently by a pseudo-visual process, with no apparent contact. Usually, several objects are collected in a basket which is placed close to the psychic, under all control. The objects then, to such degree as their nature permits, are heard being handled by Walter's teleplasmic terminals, identification proceeding by what is in part, at least a tactile process. Errors, though vastly in the minority, are always instructive. Thus a card-case and a pocket-book may be mixed; a $20 gold piece was called a half-dollar, the error being at once corrected, etc.

Walter's treatment of the objects handed out for identification is always brilliantly consistent with his claims of personal identity. Thus in dealing with a small barrette, he said that it was from a lady's hair, but not a comb—the failure to name it being decidedly a masculine touch. By failure actually to name an object of recent design, or in some other detail of his description or comment, he frequently shows a state of knowledge corresponding closely to his date of death. Doubtless a sufficiently intense study might produce the same result on a basis of impersonation; but the showing made here is an extremely consistent one, and in any event the more direct explanation is easier.

A-2: Description of conditions in the dark room, known to a sitter or within a sitter's subconscious range of knowledge.

This category includes only physical conditions in the room which would not be known to the psychic if she were engaged in a fraudulent operation. This bars any statement which Walter makes as to the condition in which we will find the scales on the coming of light, the manner in which the bell-box will behave in the next

episode, etc. But if we make this confession, it must be understood that we do so merely as a convention, and not because of absence of control at critical moments. It must be appreciated that this *is* a concession, in that an important part of our contact with Walter and our sense of his presence comes through the living parallelism between what he does and what he says.

Perhaps the most frequent item under this head arises when Walter (or a sitter) calls for some piece of apparatus; but nobody knows in the dark where it is. As an alternative to turning on the red light and looking for it, Walter often tells us where it is. Lest one think of this as normal knowledge, the product of careful observation prior to the seance, I must say that the faculty works with reference to objects handled by sitters before or during the seance in such a way as to defeat this explanation.

Remarks like "What are you looking so glum about?" or "Why the smile?" are often thrown at sitters by Walter and always acknowledged as pertinent. As a measure of the range of this faculty, we have tried numerous experiments such as holding up a hand and asking Walter how many fingers are open; and in general he can answer such questions only after teleplasmic contact. The generalization has been hazarded, and accepted by Walter, that the bodily conditions which he can sense in a sitter without contact are those indicating a state of mind.

Yet at times he clearly transgresses this limitation. Thus he remarked to a very frequent sitter: "Judge, that's an odd bracelet on your left arm. There was a bracelet, and none knew it save the wearer. On another occasion,[5] Walter knew that the bell-box had been tampered with in a very specific way; and he made an accusation of guilt which has never been successfully disproved.

With the identification of objects Walter often displays what we may best recognize as a psychometric faculty. One of several objects in the basket for identification is often associated correctly with one of the sitters, or described in terms of association or use rather than by name. A clothespin which I deposited so quietly that not even the person carrying the basket knew of its presence led Walter to protest against bringing in "this thing from Harvard". It was in fact one used by the group of young men in their attempt to cast discredit upon the mediumship.

[5]Bird: Margery, the Medium, p. 430.

B-1: Identification by Walter of objects known to no sitter.

The following procedure is employed: Any sitter is permitted to go out and buy a new pack of cards, bringing it in with him and taking it to the seance room with the Government seal intact and without ever letting it pass out of his hands. In the seance room in total darkness, he breaks the seal and removes cards from the deck at random, one at a time. He places a card on the table, not even knowing it is face up or down. Within twenty seconds Walter names it; the sitter who has placed it recovers it and disposes of it in such a manner as to make it possible to jot down that the six of diamonds (say) is now alleged to be in Mr. A's custody. Each subsequent card goes to a different sitter and is duly recorded. The process continues until each sitter has a card; and the explanation by confederacy would then require that every person present be in the plot and that the back pattern of cards to be brought in be known in advance! In twenty-seven seances, totalling at least 200 separate identifications, Walter had made no error of any description while using this method. Once he drew the trade-mark card, and for identification read off the one word of large letters—*Guaranteed*—which it carried.

This accident led to another type of experiment. The sitter brings to the seance any magazine; and in the dark he tears out an advertising page at random and puts this on the table. Within thirty seconds Walter reads the words of larger type or characterizes the picture.

The latest development here comes with the introduction by Dr. Richardson of some large wooden numbers and letters, made for children's games. They are four inches high and an inch in square section. When first brought in (January 5th, 1926,) the psychic did not see them beforehand and did not know what was in the box. Under strictest control, already described, the utmost leeway for hand or foot motion is two inches, for the head, three inches. Dr. Richardson took letters out of the box, in the seance darkness, and piled them up, without order, in a basket on the floor at the side of the entranced psychic's feet. One could shortly hear them being handled, necessarily by the teleplasmic terminals. Walter proceeded to pick out letters which he needed to spell words and names, the action being accompanied by running fire of his inimitable humorous comment. Then he picked out letters at random, naming each as he threw it at a sitter. Mr. Hill asked for a number if there were one:

Walter threw one at him with the statement that it was a "2". The sitters could not quite tell in the dark whether it was a "2" or a "5" but later examination showed Walter to be correct. Walter calls this *"his* intelligence-test". On this night there were no errors in his identification. Asked how he did it, he replied: "By feeling them, just as you do." Occasional errors, as D for O are of a sort to bear this out. This experiment has been repeated over 100 times. Owing to the size of the letters, it is easy for a sitter to pick them up and place them in the basket, grasping one limb of the wooden piece between two fingers in such a way as to have no idea what character he is handling. The psychic can not see the letters nor by any possibility touch them.

B-2: Description of dark-room conditions unknown to any sitter.

Only rarely can we state confidently in the utter ignorance of all present of any given psychical fact of the seance ensemble. Cases occur, however, usually in connection with derangement of the physical apparatus provided for Walter's psychic work. The earliest incident is[6] one where an electric mechanism under wrap and seal was stated by Walter to be inoperative and found to be so. The same thing recurred in Dr. Comstock's apartment,[7] in connection with his contact table. Walter has called attention to the fact that the bell-box spring was broken; he has explained a hiatus in his work by informing us that the basket was caught between the chair and the cabinet.

In general one must refrain from citing Walter's knowledge of the outcome of his experiments, in deference to the obvious scientific proprieties; though we look forward to the day when, in mediumships that have been through the fire as has this one, common admission of validity will make it possible to study with profit such points as this, which must today be passed by. But we have one instance where Walter's knowledge of results was so hopelessly beyond what the psychic could have known on any theory whatever that it must be included here.

A photograph was being taken in the hope of showing teleplasmic formations. At Walter's signal, Mr. Conant discharged the flash-light, following which, no sitter could do other than wait the development of the plate. But Walter spoke up: "That one won't be any good; Aleck (one of Walter's crowd) got in the way." And on

[6]Bird: Margery, the Medium, p. 289.
[7]Ibid., p. 400.

developing the plate, where the table and the psychic and the adjacent sitters ought to appear, there was found nothing but a formless white blur. One should not insist too strongly upon Walter's version of what happened to spoil this picture. Upon the supernormal character of his knowledge that it *was* spoiled, one must insist. The psychic knows nothing about photography.

We come now to the incidents where, with no relation to the physical part of the seances, Walter has displayed a knowledge which the psychic could not have had. There is a large body of this sort of thing from the early history of the mediumship which is satisfactory to me, which I would not cite to another because it involves things that I or others might conceivably have told the psychic. One recognizes the element of fallibility here, and only mentions it merely as illustrating the sort of thing which one withholds.

C-1: Relation by Walter of facts from outside the seance room, known to some sitter but not the psychic.

Walter once addressed the recipient of the bracelet item above, in the words: "Judge, you nearly lost your life today in that taxi in Park Square. You didn't see how close to the edge you were—you were too busy reading that book." This described with all precision an incident of the afternoon, occurring at a time when we are very certain the psychic was not in Park Square. The Judge and certain other sitters seem particularly amenable to this sort of thing; other sitters, whose daily routine would appear to offer much greater scope for it, seem quite impervious. Undoubtedly the sitter must make a contribution of some sort in episodes of this character—a contribution which with some persons is possible and with others not.

Despite his repugnance to "message bearing," Walter now and again reports the name and some incident out of the earth life of a discarnate whom he states to be present for a given sitter. He has to his credit brilliant successes with total strangers, and no actual error. With sitters appearing in "Who's Who", he always gives names and events, sometimes of extreme personal significance, which could not have been got from the volume named. Once we sat for over an hour with no phenomena; next night Walter explained that his whole attention had gone to keeping order among some "wild women" who had come (from his side) with one of the sitters; and this was found to be brilliantly applicable. In the presence of sitters with a history of seance-room inhibition quite unknown to any of us, we have had blank or disturbed sittings of the sort which the history

would have called for. It is obviously impossible within these limitations of space to make any rigorous showing in behalf of the psychic's essential ignorance of all these factors; hence no such attempt is made.

Mr. J. Malcolm Bird gives permission to cite the following outline of his best experience of subjective content with Walter. In two sittings with another medium, 500 miles from Boston, he encountered a spirit control who stated himself to be Walter; who in some ways displayed good Lime Street technique, of a sort not to be got by reading the literature. At the first opportunity, and with all care to reveal nothing, Mr. Bird questioned Walter in Lime Street about this. While refusing to state clearly that it had not been he, Walter gave the atmosphere of a cryptic denial. But the vital feature was his knowledge, displayed incidentally in the conversation, of what occurred in the remote sittings. He knew the medium's name, and pronounced it correctly, though such feat involves a barbarous anglicization of a pure German name, which could not possibly be given correctly from the mere spelling. He knew the name of a spirit control who functioned, and in a general way what she did and said. He has a detailed knowledge of the medium's appearance and mannerisms, though Margery had certainly never seen him; and he had correct general information about the status of another sitter. Finally, as a sop to the advocate of telepathic interpretation, he gave an estimate of this mediumship agreeing in every detail with Mr. Bird's unexpressed judgment.

C-2: Relation by Walter of facts from outside the seance room, unknown to any sitter but known to some outsider.

The new category is made out of deference to those who cannot agree as to the possible range of telepathy. The best incident is rather parallel to the last one. A telegram arrived from A. W. G. in Buffalo: "Ask Walter what night this week, if any, he was in Buffalo; and what happened". That evening Walter replied: "I was at the Buffalo Circle Friday; I whistled 'Souvenir;' They may not have heard it all." A. W. G. comments on this: "During our sitting Friday, three of us heard the first two bars of 'Souvenir' apparently from no mouth in the room." Possibilities of collusion are sufficient to prevent this narrative from attaining first scientific rank; but it suggests possible future experiments under better control.

Less striking intrinsically but stronger in its critical aspect is an incident wholly localized in Boston. Dr. S. was expected at the sit-

ting in his own car; he failed to appear. During the seance there were noises in the street, obviously from an automobile but otherwise indeterminate. Walter said: "Your friend is at the door. He came in a taxi. (Contrary to expectation). He looks like a woolly bear. He looked at the house and went away; but he will be back." (prediction). Ten minutes later Dr. S. rang the bell. His car had broken down; he had finished the trip by taxi; uncertain of the house number, he looked in vain for a door-plate; then he drove around the corner to consult a directory. He wore a shaggy new fur coat.

D. Coming to group D, where the possibility of telepathic explanation does not exist, we face a difficult problem. In the absence of a careful staging, with careful elimination of all possibility that any living person may know the facts involved, we cannot come into this classification save through predictive incidents. We have never attempted this elaborate staging, and hence are reduced to such episodes of prevision as the three years of the mediumship afford. They are numerous; but few or none are free from obvious weak points. The one that comes nearest to the standard is Walter's prediction (June, 1924) that one of the intimate circle would "pass over" inside four months, realized through the death of Mr. Alexander W. Cross in September. Over seventy times in sixteen months Walter has said concerning a sitter of the early days of the mediumship: "Give him my love and tell him I will see him soon." He is now dead.

In classes A and B, control of the psychic is of paramount importance. Once it is clear that such control is adequate, the supernormality of these elements is established. For classes A and C we have to consider the telepathic possibility. But taking these classes on their merits, it seems to me that telepathy is a harder explanation than either of the alternatives:

(1) That there is at work an extension of physical perception something to which the term metagnomy is applicable; or (2) That we have to do with a separate entity, freed from certain of the physical limitations which circumscribe our own apperceptive powers.

When we line these groups up beside B and D, the inadequacy of the telepathic theory to cover *all* that occurs reacts upon its acceptability as covering a *fraction* of what occurs. As for these two latter groups, the alternatives which they present are somewhat different. Apparently we are to choose between: (3) A form of cognitive exaltation in the living psychic, the exercise of which is usually unrecognized; or (4) A thinking entity, functioning consciously on a

plane where the time factor operates differently from here; where perhaps time constitutes a new dimension, rather than an inflexible indication of mere sequence.

If we elect alternative (3) here, we still need the remarks about the time factor from (4). At this point we find ourselves come to a conclusion: that in our metapsychic field we have use and necessity for the latest developments of orthodox science. And we see that these relativistic doctrines are quite as essential to the spiritistic philosophy, that they harmonize quite as strongly with it, as when superimposed upon the prosopopetical dogma. The advantage which comes to prosopopesis from ultra modern physics and mathematics belongs no less to spiritism.

The experiments along the lines suggested are well-nigh infinite. These experiments present a side of the Margery mediumship which is only just beginning. Taken with the mechanical demonstration that Walter's voice is independent of the psychic's anatomy and physiology, and with all the other advances which we make from time to time in the physical aspect of the investigation, this holds out a new and strong suggestion of the presence in the room of an intelligence not any part of any sitter. This intelligence, we know, functionates in a state of being so different from the one in which we consciously act that we have only today discovered it, and still have the utmost difficulty in seeking a glimmer of comprehension of it.

In reply to the inevitable questions asked of Walter by the hundreds of persons who have met him in the seance room, he has from time to time given us glimpses of his state of existence and his surroundings, as he would have us picture them. The dominant note here is his insistence upon the substantial continuity between our present life and the one into which he says he has passed. His mental outlook includes ours but goes a little further; his physical or super-physical world includes ours but goes a little beyond it in such elements as those of sense-machinery and dimensionality. He once put this every cleverly when, in response to a sitter's query: "Do you use our landscape, Walter?" he shot back: "No; you use ours!" He disclaims any crucial difference between his state of knowledge and ours, denies anything approaching omniscience; alleging that he, too, is to a large degree experimenting.

Many of the vistas which he gives us into what he presents as the life beyond the grave should be of extreme interest to the modern

physicist and mathematician; for they carry large connotations of a relativistic scheme of things. So strong is this element, we are told by an authority in the two fields of relativity and psychic research, that one ignorant of seance room phenomena but acquainted with the work of Einstein and Minkowski would prophesy that many of the things occurring in the seance room ought to be found among the phenomena of our world. Perhaps of equal significance is another fact to which attention is with increasing emphasis being drawn. In its ideas of progressive atonement for earthly errors, in a picture of an intermediate state to which the name of purgatory seems almost applicable. In many other details the philosophy which Walter would have us accept as dominating thought and conduct in his world shows a parallelism to orthodox Catholic theology, as striking as its physical parallelism with the newest concepts of time and space.

The philosophers from the Greeks to the present day tell us that this is a world of phenomena, of appearances, and behind the appearances, which our senses bring to us, there is a reality. But our senses are all we have to live by and if we believe them in the ordinary affairs of life, we must in the seance room. We know that that which appears solid is not so, that each atom is a universe of protons and electrons, that of a given solid object only one-millionth part is matter and the rest is space, comparable to the distance between the stars. Our poor eyes see from the red to violet—but we have very definite knowledge of a world of light *beyond* the violet. The quartz lens camera shows us constantly objects which the eye has not seen. In this field also are the X-ray and many therapeutic rays, wholly invisible to the human eye. The manifestations of the seance room are childish entertainment, unless true. The truth is *one*. We feel bound to go on recording.

In an original poem, Walter puts it thus:

"There is a plan far greater than the one you know,
There is a landscape broader than the one you see."

* * *

The final big question that must arise in every mind is: "Well, what is the good of all this? Where does it get you?" The answer is complete enough *even now,* and not far to seek.

1. The physical manifestations of the seance-room are real and valid sensorial experiences. Once that validity is established, the experiments will become respectable, and more data will pour in. The truth that lies here, when established, must fit into the ultimate

story of man's knowledge of the universe. Before *facts,* one must sit as a little child.

2. Psychic research establishes apparent facts, however, not only of the tangible material world but of a world outside our senses, the psychic realm of the human entity. That almost untrodden region calls to the intrepid explorer "Come, search me, and find me out, for in me is the secret of that which never dies."

There is nothing more likely than that in the honest, patient study of this subject, may ultimately be found a solution, scientifically sound, of the problem of the continuance of the conscious entity beyond the change called death, a problem hitherto relegated to the dominion of pure faith.

3. But wholly disregarding the side of this problem that points towards individual survival and return, there is a soul-stirring glimpse of man's possible *future* powers granted us. In the proved production in a few minutes of these teleplasmic hands and intelligent terminals, we get a sudden vision of an apparent creation of matter. The spirit and human will, whether it be resident in the medium or a spirit entity, causes under our eyes the apparent production of solid matter. The architect conceives the cathedral, and it is laboriously made real. The mother conceives the child and in due time it is there. Some spirit, here or there, in the cabinet, conceives and wills the materialization of part or the whole of the human apparition. It is there for scientific measurement and study.

4. Psychic Research has about as much to do with religion as golf. Nevertheless, it is going to be one of the most important factors in changing not religion but religious concepts and beliefs. The end will be good but the interim unsettling.

Science is bankrupt at the edge of the grave. Religion only offers a sleepy comfort. Psychic research will not only kill Materialism which is already dying, but knock out Agnosticism which is the prevalent condition of our college graduate. It will prove that man is a spirit, that the whole universe is spiritual, that matter is spirit attuned to vibrations which our bodily senses can perceive in our present state of development; that death of the body is a biologic and chemical change and not a religious or holy affair except in the way that a birth, a graduation, a marriage is sacred, or holy, or important. The critics of psychic research are the same old gang who tortured and burnt the free-thinker; they are the members of the Sanhedrin who cried "Crucify! Crucify!" And they have carried it

out, physically, if they could, but otherwise mentally, professionally and socially. In spite of all this, Roosevelt had it right when he said: "The grandest sport in the world is to champion an unpopular cause when you know you are right."

"Vast, indeed, and difficult is the inquirer's prospect here and the most significant data for his advance will probably be just these dingy little mediumistic facts which the scientific minds of our time find so unworthy of their attention. But when was not a science of the future stirred to its conquering activities by the little rebellious exceptions to the science of the present? It is through following these facts I am persuaded, that the greatest scientific conquests are about to be achieved."

Bergson, in his fine presidential address to the Society for Psychical Research, 1913, said that he had sometimes wondered what would have happened if modern science, instead of setting out from mathematics, instead of bringing all its forces to converge on the study of matter, had begun by the consideration of mind; if Kepler, Galileo, and Newton, for instance, had been psychologists, we should certainly have had a psychology of which today we can form no idea, any more than before Galileo we could have imagined what our physics would be; a psychology that probably would have been to our present psychology what our physics is to Aristotle's. Foreign to every mechanistic idea, not even conceiving the possibility of such an explanation, science would have inquired into, instead of dismissing *a priori,* facts such as those which we study; perhaps psychical research would have stood out as its principal preoccupation. The most general laws of mental activity once discovered (as in fact the fundamental laws of mechanics were discovered), we should have passed from mind, properly so-called to life. Biology would have been developed as a science, but a *vital* biology, quite different from ours, which would have sought behind the sensible forms of living beings the inward, invisible force of which the sensible forms are the manifestations.

"We should have gone very far in what at present we call the unknown or the occult, but we should have known less of physics, chemistry, or mechanics, unless which is very probable, we should have come upon them by another road as we travelled round the occult.

"Perhaps from the summit of our understanding we will at last

receive help from outside and hear a voice that is something more than an echo of our own.

"It is true that by deliberately rejecting everything that does not bear the stamp of mathematical or judicial certainty, we risk losing, as we go along, most of the opportunities or clues which the great riddle of this world offers, using its moments of inattention or graciousness. At the beginning of our inquiry we must know how to content ourselves with little.

"Think of it. It would be monstrous and inexplicable that we should be only what we appear to be, nothing but ourselves, whole and complete in ourselves, separated, isolated, circumscribed by our bodies, our consciousness, our birth, and our death. We become possible and probable only on the conditions that we project beyond ourselves on every side, and that we stretch in every direction throughout time and space."

We bespeak, therefore, from you, the "open mind." "In my Father's house are many mansions" has become almost scientific. For the scientist today talks of a world not only of three dimensions but of many more. He talks of infinites. The last thing that the scientist will say—if he is a true one—is: "The thing is impossible."

If one is a true scientist, then, the whole problem of life after death must be approached with a completely open mind. "Nature has far more secrets to reveal than have yet been disclosed. One of the most characteristic achievements of science has been to prove to us that things are not what they seem. To the ordinary mind, the most real reality is what we see and touch. But that may not be the most real reality at all. To a more accurate seeing, the most real reality may be thought, purpose and will. Consider for a moment. The countless things that make up our humanly constructed world are created by thought, purpose and will. Is not the Creator likely to be far more real than the created?

"What, now, is an individual person? He is a focus, so to speak, of thought, purpose and will. It may be, then—that as a focus of thought, purpose and will, he possesses a reality far more profound and lasting than the reality of so-called matter.

"Will he survive death? We do not know. What is the function of death? We do not now know. But that this present focussing point of thought, purpose and will is simply to be cast on the ash-heap of the universe, we are less and less able to believe.

"We are already scientifically convinced of the indestructibility of

matter. We shall, I think, also become convinced of the indestructibility of those peculiar forms of reality which we call thought, purpose and will. If the latter are indeed indestructible, what forms will they take? We do not yet know. Death may usher them to a complete re-birth from which all memory of the past has vanished, or it may usher them to a re-birth from which only part of the past has vanished. We do not know.

"Assuming, however, that the most real reality *is* this focussing-point of thought, purpose and will in individual life, the great task of the coming years will be to look for all possible evidence of the ways in which this deeper kind of reality gets transformed by the peculiar episode of death. William James long ago poured out his scorn at the scientists who were too dogmatic to admit psychic research into the holy of holies of science. The true scientist will be fearless enough to follow along James's trail. He will eagerly search in the region of supernormal phenomena for evidences for and against survival after death.

"At present I do not believe that we have come to the point where we can say that anything has been 100% *proved* scientifically, for or against. Science, however, is emerging from its period of materialism. It is realizing that there is a profounder reality than so-called matter. It is, therefore, not impossible to believe that through accurate experimentation with supernormal psychical phenomena, we shall be able to tell, with some measure of precision, what happens, through death, to this *most real reality of all* which we call the human personality."

As for us, we are not propagandists for a "new revelation." We do not seek the support of all the world. Our recompense is to have grasped new truths, to have delved deeper into the great mystery of the nature of the mind. We would wish, however, to have a scientific audience. We demand only a simple effort of good will—yes, let us say it, of honesty; for it is not honest to deny without trying to examine fairly. And to the dogmatist, we offer this last word of Claude Bernard: "The truly scientific mind ought to make us moderate and tolerant. We all know, in reality, very little about things, and we are all fallible in the face of the immense difficulties involved in the investigation of natural phenomena."

As Driesch puts it, "We are in the Galvani period: facts without explanation. We want to enter the Faraday period: laws established

by experiment. I am sure we shall enter it some day. And I am also sure that, when we shall have entered it, a good many of those who are not our friends at present will say, 'we have always said so.' "

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CHAPTER V

A SUBJECTIVE STUDY OF DEATH

By Mary Austin

No one making a cursory survey of the various modes of research by which it is modernly attempted to demonstrate the continuity of individual existence beyond death can fail to be struck by the fact that they are practically all of them based upon the evidence of direct communication with the survivors. Nowhere is there any extended inquiry into the possible relation of survival to the crisis of death, nor to the quality of the psyche upon which survival is predicated. In this we violate all the natural logic of every other current form of psychic research.

It cannot be denied that the individual interest would naturally take the form of ardently desiring communication with the beloved dead, nor that such interest tends to give an acute public attention to this department of inquiry. But it is not natural for us in any other crisis of living to insist on the ability to return to a previous condition as an indispensable evidence of progression. The new born child returns not to the womb, nor does the adult become a child again, however many the lapses of memory between those states. History denies neither the past nor the future on the ground that they do not occur simultaneously in our consciousness; nor is the evolution of man through an endless chain of physical life refuted by our individual unawareness of such evolution at any given epoch of it. What we do assume of all these stages of being, individual or racial, is that, rightly studied, they yield prophetic or reminiscent evidence of continuity, informing not only to the observer, but to the recipient.

Before birth the child stirs; modern psychology is now insisting that it receives impressions which modify after-birth experiences. Before puberty there are both physical and mental alterations of so pronounced a character that it becomes our chief educational concern to handle them. Is it not logical to suppose that there might be notice of the nature of the approaching change, quite as important to be studied as anything which might be imagined to occur after bodily dissolution has taken place?

I do not now refer to reflexes, due to illness, arising in the gradual

process of physical breakdown. Since we are profoundly convinced of the absolute resolution of the body to its chemical components, we must regard survival as purely subjective in its nature; so much so that the failure of that subjective part of us to demonstrate itself by objective phenomena after death can never be accepted as proof positive of the failure of survival. But in a general way the alterations of the individual during adolescence are so far subjective that any delay in the appearance of the characteristic subjectivity of adolescence is regarded as abnormal, just as failure of the stir of unborn life is so regarded.

Assuming that we have a right to be as logical about death as about any other human experience, let us consider whether there may not be interior evidence of the nature of death, which can be subjected to the same scientific scrutiny we have lately given to the nature of adolescence. What phenomena of the spirit, in anticipation of the crisis called death, do we observe which may be indicative of the future of that spirit in the same way that the psychology of adolescence indicates the future of the living individual?

Inevitably such a study would concern itself with the subjective consciousness of man, with whatever part of him might be supposed to be capable of going on independently of the material frame and its purely objective existence. Such study would normally concern itself, first of all, with the origins of consciousness, and with its modes of progression. Should the intense and scholarly inquiry which is being pursued continuously, result in any positive knowledge of the nature and origin of consciousness, it would undoubtedly be found to bear directly upon the problem of survival. But pending such illumination, in what other direction and by what methods could inquiry profitably be made? Where shall we look, in the nature of living man, what shall we look for, and by what marks shall we identify and how interpret interior evidence of the continuity of man's livingness?

The writer, having spent many years under circumstances that afforded a more than ordinary acquaintance with the ways of animals, and with people whose trade is about animals, both domestic and wild, would begin such a study with the death customs and behaviors of the younger brothers of mankind. That animals can die of psychic shock—such shock as is frequently the result of capture and captivity even under great kindness and real anxiety on the part of the captor to induce them to live—is well known. That animals have difficulty

in understanding death as an objective reality any one can convince himself who has opportunity to observe ewes returning again and again to the decaying clot of hide and bones which was once a lamb, or watch a dog trying to warm her drowned puppy into living response. That the lower animals can *subjectively* appreciate death to the point of actually seeking it as a release has been so definitely asserted by hunters and naturalists, that it deserves to be brought under the kind of scrutiny that would reduce the assertion to fact. That animals kill one another out of deliberate enmity and with no reference to food is as well known as that they grieve themselves to death over the loss of a mate or a master. That animals in peril have somehow managed to disturb the minds of their masters at the moment of dissolution we have a number of instances related by people whose word would be taken unquestioningly on any other matter. One of these, which I believe has also appeared in print, I had from Sir Rider Haggard; another from a friend, in which the certainty of disaster to a valued horse arrived at the threshold of his own consciousness several hours after the horse had died, having cast itself in its stall. All such phenomena should be brought under the most rigid evidential scrutiny, particularly that one which links them closest with the Dawn-man: the difficulty in recognizing death as a reality.

The widespread existence of death-origin legends is of itself evidence that man came into full consciousness of himself prepossessed of the belief that death is a kind of natural accident, needing to be accounted for, and with reluctance accepted as inevitable for everybody. In almost every tribe where death legends occur it is also possible to find legends which indicate belief in the equal naturalness of escape from death, by favored individuals. In the majority of such cases, death is made contingent upon the violation of some sort of condition completely integrated with the human environment. Among American Indians, with whose myths the writer is widely conversant, there are many death origin tales which are sufficiently ancient to indicate that they arose out of a still earlier notion that death happened only to the body, that the inner man, the real man, the one who continues his adventures while the body is asleep, had simply gone away and neglected to come back. There are still in existence rites indicating that there was an almost universal belief among Dawn-men that life could be coaxed back to the empty tenement, that it was of itself indestructible. To this day the American Indian placates the ever-living life of the quarry he is about to kill

for food, as formerly he danced the scalp dance to placate by adopting into his own tribe the ghosts of the enemies he had slain.

It would be interesting to have all this material set in order with a view to realizing how far the idea of death, as involving discontinuence, is instinctive to man, or to what extent it is a rationalization of later observations. Such a labour would include a satisfactory resolution of two elements that in our thinking about death, at present, appear irreconcilable: the general fear of death, and the occasional high hearted scorn of it. So far as my own study among primitives has carried me, it goes to show that the fear of death diminishes as we work back to the Dawn-man; and willingness to lay down life for an idea, for an emotion, for pure willfulness, increases. Too many accounts of savages deliberately dying, apparently by willing rather than by doing violence to the body, have been brought to us from widely unrelated tribes, not to oblige us to accept them seriously. It is well known among those acquainted with the less sophisticated peoples, that the power of predicting their own deaths is a matter of equally wide diffusion, and that both the power of dying and predicting death are found among peoples who have no well defined notion of survival and not much interest in it.

Almost as far back, and surely to be collated with this easy, unafraid individual handling of death, rises the concept of the voluntary laying down of life as meritorious. This is probably older than the contrary idea of the evil of suicide. So also is the idea of the exceptional individual who can both lay down his life and take it up again. I have never been quite satisfied with the explanation of these ideas as a development of incidental observations of trance, coma and similar conditions. The idea that to lay down life for others is of the highest order of merit is the stuff out of which Christ myths are made. That unforgetable sergeant in the late war who called out to his men, "Come on you—do you want to live forever?" was not rationalizing. He was acting upon and appealing to one of the deepest seated motive impulses in human nature, universally esteemed. It is here, I think, in the study of our own universal approval of the voluntary movement toward discarnation, and our own universal disapproval of any form of conscious shrinking from it, that the subjective study of death can be profitably begun. Does not the disposition of man, given sufficiently exigent conditions, to choose death rather than life, suggest that back, far back of the rationalizing power, behind the furthest reach of conscious thinking, Spirit, which

found its way into life without either self-consciousness or intellect, knows how to find its way safely out. The question here of how much of its equipment of intellect and self consciousness the individual Spirit may leave behind in such a transition is unimportant. Supposing there *is* an indestructible spirit in man, would not that indestructibility know itself? And would it then really fear death any more than it fears sleep, of which it knows nothing when it comes into this life? Would not the fear of death, in so far as it is not the artificial by-product of myth making about a future life, prove to be the fear merely of loosing this dear baggage of personality, feeling, memory, and use? These are aspects of the death crisis that I should like to see adequately dealt with by inquiring science.

Along with this new study of man's failure to realize death as the inevitable close to existence, should go a fresh inspection of his idea of resurrection. Folkloreists have generally conceded the derivation of the resurrection myth from nature rites, intended to aid the recurrent springing of the crop from the buried seed. But the existence of resurrection myths, myths, at least, of man resuming his life after having parted with it, among peoples who are still in the hunting stage, and without any ritualized spring ceremony, seems to indicate that the assimilation of the ideas of seasonal recurrence and of life resumption came later than the original idea of bodily life as a thing assumed by the spirit for its convenience. "O Younger Brother," said Cushing's friend of the water turtle, "It can not die, it can but change its house." What I should like to know is, how far this notion of bodily life as assumed can be trusted as an original in-knowing or intuitive concept of man about himself.

Three other items of the manner in which the dawn-mind has dealt with death could profitably be brought under such a scrutiny as I have in mind; one of which has scarcely been noted in this connection, and otherwise marked with an emphasis which in the light of modern psychology, appears misapplied.

The first of these is the disposition toward making a good end, as illustrated by death rites performed either by the individual *in extremis,* or on his behalf. Historically such rites long antedate the codified faiths which have become attached to them, as in the Catholic right of Extreme Unction, which is relegated by scholars to Mid-Asian, pre-Christian antiquity. Everywhere among primitives we find the moment of death encrusted with rites which can be resolved into the supposition that the passage of the psyche from life to death

is an occasion of great peril, and that the frame of mind in which this passage is attempted, bears importantly upon the chances of survival.

All religious rituals in general may be said to objectify the search for effective states of mind. They might fairly be described as self preservative gestures of the psyche. How then does the psyche come by this notion that it can be assisted in death by induced states? Why, if annihilation is natural and foregone, should the self preserving instinct work upon it at all? A study of the subjective element in rites designed to assist the disengaging spirit would be indispensable to such an inquiry as I have postulated.

Two other notions bearing upon independent spirit existence, coming a little later and widely distributed among human kind, are the ideas of ordeal or judgment undergone by the recently dead, and the idea of survival as an achievement.

Both of these may have developed naturally out of that earlier idea which is embodied in the death-song and other expressions of a belief in the power of the state of mind in which death is encountered, to affect the welfare of the soul to which death is about to happen. If they have so developed, then surely, the availing death rite has a much greater validity than we have been disposed to give to it.

The whole history of the Christian faith can be summed up as the fluctuations of belief about the nature of the saving rite and an achieved survival. How can we then lightly discard an idea so profoundly conceived and so universally entertained as that of the saving death rite, as revealing nothing whatever of the nature of the episode around which the rite arranges itself? If we look confidently, as modern psychology does look, for intimations of life-possibility in the subconsciousness of the adolescent, if we are willing to trust the issues of marriage and the family on what we find indicated in folk ways and lore, why not make at least the same gesture toward a possible confirmation of survival in the folk attitude toward death?

This raises at once the question of the evidential nature of the widespread belief in survival. That it is indicated as universal does not prove that the wish does not give rise to the belief. But there are two or three items to be taken into account before we conclude that wish fulfillment is the only element that enters into man's idea of a Hereafter. The first of these is that man's early imaginings of the life beyond this life, do not, for the most part, represent anything that the people who produced them, really wished for. Nothing, for instance, could have been more unacceptable to the Greek tem-

perament than the vague, drab Hades of its mythology, nothing more boring to the sensuous Mediterranean than the Heaven he hymns. And has not the modern Christian world definitely rebelled against both its Heaven and its Hell, finding them equally undesirable, without disturbing the general Christian confidence in survival?

It is easy to show that the social conditions that produced the most explicit Heaven and Hell, conceived of as definite places, embodying a circumscribed existence, are furthest from the instinctive states that are supposed by those who adhere to the wish-fulfillment explanation, to have given rise to them. Much more likely to have arisen out of the deep seated wish is the idea of direct communication with the beloved dead. But before we can lightly dismiss the wish as evidence, we have to demonstrate than man *can* wish for anything not in his destiny. Is not the power of wishing in *itself* an intimation of inevitable fulfillment, a germ of inescapable accomplishment?

There is another group of associated phenomena which has never been interrogated for the light it can throw on the catastrophe—if we are so to regard it?—of discarnation. In this group there are three items of fairly consistent occurrence throughout the history of human experience. The first of these is the nature of the wound to the psyche of the bereaved. The second is the well authenticated, though modernly infrequent, warning or notice of death psychically received by friends or relatives at a distance; and the third is the illusion—or perhaps it is a fact—of psychic readjustment between the departed and the bereaved, than which there is no better attested phenomenon.

The wound of bereavement shows itself in the period of the dawn-mind. That the lower animals have been known to grieve themselves to death in the loss of the mate or master, has already been noted. I do not find this sort of thing sufficiently accounted for as shock, particularly as it seems to take place when no lesion can be proven, and does not take place except when there is a liason of intimacy between the living and the recently dead. Properly interrogated, this not unusual sequential occurrence should yield some information as to the nature of the psyche, which if not directly bearing on the problem of survival, would serve to explain the more frequent and less understood experiences of readjustment.

Anyone, by a little inquiry among his friends, may hear some account of this, which is described as a flooding interpenetration of the living personality by the personality of the dead, taking place often within a day or two after death, though usually deferred until the

first shock of grief is past. There is a reawakened sense of appreciation, a renewal of intimacy, often accompanied by sudden illumination of traits and incidents never before understood. One hears this experience frequently summed up in the phrase "my friend was never so near me". Sometimes this sense of nearness amounts to a conviction of presence that, without producing any of the phenomena of automatism which have attracted so much attention of late, leads to a belief in communication. Many people are incited to resort to mediums in the first place by this haunting, teasing intimation of incompleted communication.

So far we have glibly dismissed these universal phenomena attending the wresting away of a living psyche from our midst, as incidents of the mechanical readjustment of the life habit. And yet much of what we generally believe about the relation of death to life, is drawn from the experience of such loss by death. Would not a re-examination of such experience, dealing with death as a reality, and distinguishing between that reality and the emotions it gives rise to, yield some such equivalent illumination as has been thrown by modern psychology on the process of our dreams, or on the parental relation? Might not the reality of survival be discovered as were the asteroids, by intelligent scrutiny of the void in which it has so far occurred.

In the same spirit there should be a new consideration of the legendary lore of survival. No people is without an accumulation of incident, passing itself off for fact, relative to reappearances and communications of the dead to the living. What is singular and important is the general alikeness of such incidents for all tribes and races. Supposing, as many psychologists do, that the experiences behind all the ghosts stories in the world, take place within the subjective consciousness of the person to whom they appear to happen, what is the nature of this subjectivity, which is able to produce the same type of objective presentation of itself among the least and the most intellectual tribes? Take, for example, the world wide notion that something of the personality of the victim "haunts" the scene of a violent death? Notice that in all these tales it is not the murderer but the murdered who does the haunting. Any professional maker of tales knows that there can be no tale without some interior motion of the psyche to set it going and give it form. What is the psychic start behind the multifarious tales of hauntings? Is it in any way related to that other idea of death as an occasion of peril, requiring special rites for its safe negotiations? Or, consider the innumerable

stories of the protection afforded to our own personal crisis, by some one of the dear dead.

I recall one such experience arising not on my own behalf, but in the interest of another person, occurring in the middle of a crowded afternoon on Fifth Avenue, in which the mother of a boy I had never seen before or after, seemed to appear not only to me but to another passing stranger with an absolutely arresting reality. In this case there was not even a emotional reflex out of which the intimation of presence might arise.

Can we in any way derive the practice of ancestor worship from the sort of experiences that give rise to such presentments? Primitive man, as his literature shows, is notably lacking in invention. His good tales as well as his devil tales also come from the same place that his dreams come. The concept of helpful ancestral spirits is not of the class of invented myths, such as that the thunder is caused by a great bird flapping its wings or a great man swinging a hammer. It belongs in the group of origin tales arising out of subjective experience, out of unsatisfied egoism or sex suppressions or other unidentified movements of the subconscious. All such experiences are more and more shown to be the inverted shadows of subjective realities which, by the aid of psychoanalysis, can be definitely placed. Curiously, no one has yet undertaken to place this group of shadows around the reality of death. If it could have the undivided attention of the psychologists to the degree that the psychic reactions of the love-life have had it, would not our yield of understanding be proportionately rewarding? For death is quite as much of a fact as sex, quite as likely to disguise its actuality in myths and hallucinations, myths of hauntings, of resurrections, subjective presentments of seeing and hearing.

All this seems to me much more important than the sort of thing that is now claiming the attention of investigators. Whether or not our discarnate friends can bark backward to us over the dividing line is relatively unimportant compared with the discovery of the quality and conditions of the adventure by which survival is accomplished. One thing we know and one only: that if there is another existence beyond the gate of death, we go through from Here to There. Is it not from Here, then, that the adventure can be soundly predicated?

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CHAPTER VI

A PEAK IN DARIEN

By Margaret Deland

It has been said that a man is known by the company he keeps—but the saying may not hold good of a woman. At any rate, I cannot be "known", intellectually or philosophically, when I speak upon psychical research from a platform which has been honored by the presence of my betters, speaking upon the same subject. Indeed, reflecting upon what I want to say, I wondered why I had been invited to say it! Then I found an explanation in the story of Molière and his washerwoman. Molière, anxious to know how the average mind regarded his theme, was in the habit of reading his plays aloud to this simple person, and asking her what she thought of them...

In relation to the subject to be discussed, the Department of Psychology of Clark University has, after listening to experts, invited the washerwoman,—and the reason is obvious: her comment upon the hypothesis of man's survival of bodily death, will be that of the average mind.

If to such minds is put the question: "Is there any evidence that when a man dies he shall live again?"—there will be many different answers. One may be, "Immortality? Heaven?—Oh, let's talk of something pleasant!" Or: "Evidence? Bosh! There isn't any." Or: "The teaching of my church is 'evidence' enough for me!" (Of course, that sort of belief is easy, just in proportion to the ability of the person taught to believe without mental processes.) There is also the mind that says, grimly, "There can't be 'evidence' of what is inherently impossible." Solomon declares that such persons, whom he rather unfairly calls ungodly, say within themselves:

> "Neither was any man known to return from the grave.
> Because by mere chance were we born,
> And hereafter we shall be as though we had never been.
> For the breath of our nostrils is smoke,
> And our reason is a spark kindled by the beating of our heart,
> Which, being extinguished, the body shall be turned to ashes,

And the spirit shall be dispersed into thin air,
And our life shall pass away as the traces of a cloud."

To a mind of this nature, survival is an unthinkable hypothesis because it is certain that there cannot be personality without an organism. Until recently I, too, was 'certain.' As long ago as my early thirties, I had realized that, though my church asserted its belief in the "resurrection of the dead," covering the statement on Easter Sunday with flowers and setting it in crashes of joyous music, the belief itself was not, to most Christians, a very real thing. If it were, I reasoned, grief would not be the hideous thing it is, for Love is unselfish enough to be glad of any joy that comes to the beloved. But nobody was glad, except—yes; except a certain Swedenborgian mother I knew, who, when her only son lay dead in the house, wiped her eyes and smiled, and said, "Course, I'm lonely. . But I'm *so* happy, because I keep thinking what a good time George is having!" But I never knew anyone else who was happy under such circumstances, and George's mother's faith seemed to me beautiful and foolish. For how, I asked myself, could she know that George was "having a good time?"—or that he was, at all! So far as proof went, her premise that he was alive would not, as George himself would probably have expressed it, "hold water". Certainly, if "George" was the energetic body—the big, dear, sturdy body—then the premise was wrong, for the body was dead. In that shaded upper room, it was lying still. Dust to dust. Ashes to ashes. No George. Yet she was "so happy"! I knew that I would not have been happy, without proof that George could be George without his body. Not having that proof, I believed that "our life passes away as the traces of a cloud." I am afraid I was not agnostic about it; I was rather aggresively sure that survival was an unthinkable hypothesis. It never occurred to me to investigate my own premise: 'there cannot be personality without an organism.' Such investigation meant, I thought, spiritualism—and the very word irritated me. It stood, in my mind, for trivialities and vulgarities; for mediumistic utterances, often offensive to taste, and frequently accompanied by clap-trap as old as the rods of the Egyptian priests that turned into serpents,—and yet as young as those early 90's, when tables tipped and tambourines floated. To connect such things with the sacred but helpless Dead, seemed to me an insult, not only to grief, but to intelligence.

All that was my answer to the question, "Is there any *evidence* that when a man dies he shall live again?" There is, of course, another reply, but it isn't often heard. It is, "I don't know whether there is evidence for survival, but I wish I did." This is the answer of the Mind of Curiosity—without which confessedly ignorant, but always wondering and searching mind, there never would have been any science in the world. This mind doesn't say "bosh"—before examining evidence. It couldn't live in the strait-jacket of a creed. It hasn't much patience with George's mother (who was, plainly, a Pragmatist!)—or, for that matter, with Solomon's materialist, who is sure that hereafter we shall be as though we never had been. This Mind of Curiosity says you can't be "sure" of anything, without investigation. It is even willing to investigate that despised thing, spiritualism, with, as someone once said, "its twaddle about 'planes and spheres' "—which implies that if the soul survives, it becomes imbecile! I remember Professor Sidgwick's "curiosity" about such things. He admitted to Frederick Myers that he thought that "when Tradition, Intuition, Metaphysic, had failed to solve the riddle of the universe, there was still a chance that from actual observable phenomena—ghosts, spirits—some valid knowledge might be drawn as to a World Unseen". "From that night onward," Myers says, calmly, "I resolved to pursue this quest..."

One must read his book, "Human Personality And Its Survival of Bodily Death"—which is a sort of corner stone of psychical research—to know the significance of that quest; the ruthless reasoning, which might destroy his own hope, the sacrifice, the shrinking from things as distressing to the taste of a poet, a scholar and a gentleman, as a hair shirt would be to the flesh! For myself, when I read that book, I was filled with admiration for Professor Myers' courage in facing all the "bosh" people, and religious people, and intellectual people, and diving into what seemed to them a mud puddle of illogical emotion. Also, I was myself a little less cock-sure that no man was ever known to return from the grave. But I hadn't much hope that psychical research would prove anything, one way or the other. And as for spiritualism, I realized—scientifically and philosophically uneducated though I was—that it was illogical to deduce survival from happenings which might be hallucinations (when not humbuggery), or, in objective phenomena, merely some unknown force, operating upon an entirely hypothetical form of matter, of late named teleplasm or ectoplasm. So I said to myself that, as spiritual-

istic phenomena must be fraud because they were "impossible," then they had better be investigated by these psychical research people, and shown up! The psychical research people have done the investigating—but some of the things "shown up" have been fact, not fraud.* As a result, we are not so certain, now-a-days, as to 'impossibilities.' We are less ready to use the word about anything—except mathematics.

Professor Richet snubbed the type of mind which says "impossible," by his statement: "To deny certain (psychic) phenomena, does not display knowledge; it displays ignorance." Which reminds us that sparks rubbed from a cat's fur indicated, from the beginning of time, a Force; but only yesterday was that force curbed and bitted, and named Electricity! So, Richet says, do spiritualistic phenomena indicate a Force. He adds, carefully, that "its manifestation does not, probably, indicate survival". He does not believe in survival.

But anyhow, the phenomena, subjective in various forms of automatism,—ouija spellings, scrawled reams of automatic script, gutteral mutterings of entranced mediums; or objective—tipping tables and materializing forms, began, in the 80's, to give a few intelligent persons pause. After all, they said, perhaps these things mean something? This appears to be a universe of cause and effect; Nature may be brutal, but she is sincere. Mathematics are unshakable. The attraction of gravitation knows no vagaries. (This was before Einstein!) Even sparks from a cat's fur prophesied the telephone, and the jumping lid of a tea-kettle changed civilization! So they set out to look for the facts. Apart from any question of survival, apart from the frantic credulousness of Grief, from the tender and lovely irrationalities of George's mother,—such people said that it was childish to ignore what might be *facts,* in these queer happenings. Happenings which take place generally in the presence of mediums —persons of a peculiar physical or mental make-up; abnormal persons, probably; certainly some of them display very distinct disassociation of personality. Well! They found many facts—these 'intelligent' people! Starting with Saul, who saw very 'queer' things in the presence of the Witch of Endor, the phenomena have been repeated and repeated. The entirely skeptical Sir William Crookes saw them, in the presence of a sixteen-year-old girl (who could hardly have fooled, in his own laboratory, for three years, the greatest

*May I acknowledge here my own indebtedness to Mr. J. Arthur Hill's illuminating books on Psychical Research.

physicist in England!). The unbelieving biologist, Charles Richet, observed equally amazing things, on the line of the Witch of Endor's performances. Other scientific men had the same experiences. As a result, the existence of an unclassified Force (now called psychic) is, here and there, admitted. It differs markedly from any known physical force. Physical forces are reliable, unselfconscious, without intellectual appropriateness, and without recognizable will. But this psychic force is vagrant, unreliable, and occasionally it displays not only self-consciousness and will, but an appropriateness to occasion which looks like choice. Yet if men who have investigated the phenomena are asked if they signify anything superhuman, they reply that nothing can be called superhuman if by any stretching of possibility it can be called human.

Such men—William James was one of them—prefer, before committing themselves to any hypothesis as to survival, to put phenomena generally called psychic, through the sieve—not of taste or morals or faith,—but of physics and psychology. When such testing is done, what Saul would have taken to be the ghost of Samuel, is occasionally found to be hallucination—or else gauze and pulleys and amazingly clever sleight of hand. And most of the automatic messages can be traced to the subconscious mind of the writer. And George's mother's faith is only her own desire. In other words, happenings, accepted by credulity or sorrow as "superhuman," are shown to be entirely (and, when fraudulent, most regrettably!) human. But is there, ever, anything that can't be labeled human and normal; anything that won't go through the scientific sieve? Anything indicating that when a man dies, he shall live again?

William James said to me once of the notorious Eusapia's phenomena, "Her materializations and general monkey shines are mostly humbug. But allowing for all the cheating, and all the hideous vulgarity, there remains a residuum which we can't explain." This unexplained residuum, which apparently James had detected, was *an indication of Mind, acting independently of Matter;* in other words, an indication of the continuance of identity after death.

"But," comes the protest, "psychic phenomena which suggest such a thing are (when not humbug) just chance. So why consider them?" It is the haunting and melancholy voice of Solomon's materialistic which asks this question:

"By mere chance were we born,
And hereafter we shall be as though we had never been."

Chance! Well, for myself, I see the orderliness of the stars, the perfection of a flea's leg, the reliability of physical laws in cause and effect—and I don't see how the Universe can be run by chance; if it were, it would be a Chaos, not a Cosmos. Yet far be it from me to discuss chance! To speak of chance, is to touch the fringe of that Garment of God, Free Will, which is caught about the universe by the girdle of determinism, with its clasp of the star swarms of space! This is only the story of the elementary processes of an escape from materialism, so you will not expect me to bring determinism into the question; nor will I dare, in my ignorance, to struggle with certain other lions in the way—Time and Space, Matter and Energy, and the Fourth Dimension—though indeed they all belong in any thorough consideration of psychic phenomena. Instead, I will just say that, to me, an orderly universe suggests design; and design implies intelligence. It has many names, this Intelligence: the Absolute, the First Cause, the Cosmic Consciousness (which last means, I suppose, an eternal awareness of everything, past, present and to come). There is another name for it, an august name, belittled by theological man-handling: the name God. (I don't suppose it really matters much to God, what we call Him!) Anyhow, all the names mean, to me, a Conscious Universe, which, because it shows purpose, implies intelligence.

But such definitions are beyond the question whether human intelligence can survive bodily death. What we want to know, is whether there is, in psychic phenomena, any indication that it does. Any evidence that the individual human mind can exist without a body? Certainly, intelligence is occasionally discernible in psychic phenomena. But *whose* intelligence? Is it that of the medium in whose presence things happen? Is it a secondary personality of hers? Or is it the intelligence of John Smith, who is sitting with her, and does she, somehow, read in his unconscious mind things his conscious mind has forgotten? Or, is it the intelligence of some other living, perhaps distant, person, which, without anybody's volition, reaches the medium, and is recorded by her? Or is it that Universal Intelligence, called the Cosmic Consciousness, to which the medium has (again, somehow!) access? Or—this is the last thing we ought to consider—is it the intelligence of some person who has died, which (*somehow*) stimulates the brain of the medium, and makes her speak or write what it wishes to express?

If we can say "yes" to any of the first four questions, there is no

need to ask the fifth. It is answered before it is asked: psychic phenomena do not show the intelligence of the dead.

Agreeing, then, never to assume an unknown cause if there is a known one, and that nothing shall be called supernormal which can possibly be called normal, suppose we examine a few concrete instances of subjective phenomena, and see to whom this intelligent consciousness should be credited. I won't even refer to physical phenomena; that some of them are genuine, seems very probable. But they may—when not humbug—so easily be pure physics, with nothing transcendental about them. Besides, the subject is too big for the limits of this paper. I will just put a few stories of mental phenomena through the sieve of *normalness.* If there is anything left in the sieve, anything that indicates "Mind acting independently of Matter"—which certainly wouldn't be normal!—then we shall have William James' "residuum." Of course, before we even look for the residuum, an astonishing number of things will,— if enough emotion is squeezed out of them so that they can be fitted to metaphysical labels,—run through the sieve. Secondary personalities will go—they are so often pathological. And Samuel's ghost will disappear, too, because phantoms are frequently hallucinations—again pathological, and, by that token, normal, (which means 'usual').

The very first story I drop into the sieve will, if I compress it by calling it "coincidence," very quickly pass through the testing meshes, and fall on to the heap of the normal. It is the record of a ouija spelling; it came in that dark, anxious Paris of 1918, on the night of February 5th, at 9:50 (please notice the hour). The little pointer (Sir William Barrett said once, "The ouija, once a toy for children, is now an instrument of scientific research!")—the little, foolish, flatiron-shaped piece of wood, spelled out, first, the initials of a man who had died in America nine months before. Then:

S. O. S. messages pour in here. When I can, I get in. Oui must not crowd

This meant nothing to the two ladies at the board (who, by the way, knew how to spell "we!") Two evenings later, on the seventh of February, came (again on the board) the words:

Undertaking big work

An easy generalization in war time, so the ouija operators were not impressed. But the following day, February 8th, at noon, one of these ladies, stopping on the muddy pavement in the rain, at

a little kiosk near the Madeleine to buy a newspaper, read, with a sudden tightening of the throat, on the small, smudgy sheet of the *Daily Mail,* these words: "On the night of February 5th, at 9:30, the United States transport *Tuscania,* loaded with American soldiers, was sunk. S. O. S. messages were sent out in all directions." Of course the two women tried their ouija board that night, and the spelling—not at all evidential because they knew the facts—was this:

You know now. I have been waiting for you to know. Making boys at home my work. Remember told you big work

Call this S. O. S. message "coincidence," and it runs like water through the sieve, leaving no residuum which could be called evidence that a certain American who, before his death, had watched the war with intense anxiety, was still watching it, and, aware of this terrible catastrophe, communicated it, twenty minutes after it happened, to two other anxious Americans in Paris. "Coincidence" is easier to accept than the idea that a mind cognizant of what had happened, reached, without aid of a physical organism, the mind of one of the persons at the board, and caused her own hand to move the pointer and spell out what he wanted said,—words, you observe, coincidental with a fact. (Of course, it is always the hand of the operator which moves the pointer. But if there was proof that an external mind, unassisted by any bodily senses, used the operator's brain to produce those motor effects, we would have the "residuum.")

Here is another "coincidence" story. A lady, a widow of many years, whom we will call "Gertrude", goes to visit some friends in Bar Harbor. In her absence two of her friends in her own town receive a spelling on a ouija board, which purports to be a message from her long deceased husband. In it he says that he can't follow Gertrude very well, because she is in "new surroundings" (he had never been in that part of Mount Desert); "but she is having," he adds, "new experiences". As soon as Gertrude returned, her friends asked her if she had had any new psychical experiences. "None whatever!" she said, laughing. Later, however, she herself asked a question: "Do you suppose that spelling could have meant that I was doing something unusual? For I certainly was! The very same day that ouija message came to you, I went out deep sea fishing—a thing I had never done in my life; and I kept telling my host, over and over, 'This is a new experience! This is an abso-

lute new experience!' I don't know how many times I said, 'Well, I have had a new experience!' "

If we can make this story fit into the word "coincidence", we have no residuum. We needn't even consider the possibility that an amused husband, using somebody else's brain as if it were a typewriter, tried to let his wife know, by spelling out her own words about deep sea fishing, that, although it was difficult to follow her in "new surroundings", he was aware of what was going on in her life. Some of us might think this, but psychologists who would think so are as scarce as hens' teeth!

These two trivial stories belong in the class with the letter which arrives on the morning mail, from a friend of whom one happened to think last night, though one hasn't heard or thought of him for years. The arrival of such a letter is a commonplace to us all, and, as no law governs it, we squeeze it, and the S. O. S. message, and the "new experience" of catching a cod off Bar Harbor, into the label "Coincidence"; and they all run through the sieve, and land in the entirely normal. There are innumerable happenings of this kind, all apparently lawless, which we can, rationally, call "coincidence". Certainly we can't prove that they are not coincidence. Neither can we prove they are "lawless." So we may, if we are so inclined, call them, mystically, "straws", which show that the wind of Consciousness bloweth where it listeth, and we only hear the sound thereof, and dare not say whence it cometh or whither it goeth. Yet how trifling the "straws" are! To some people, their triviality is, in itself, a denial of survival, for, if identity persists after death, would our dead come back only to talk to us of deep sea fishing—or even the terrible, but quite impersonal, affair of a sinking ship? Would they not, rather, tell us of their lives now, and of Him who inhabiteth Eternity? Personally, I think that if their speech was to prove their own survival of bodily death, they would not do either of these things. Mere descriptions of God, which, in the nature of things, can't be verified, cannot be proof; nor could we verify, or even understand, descriptions of how they live now. Could dragon-flies, zigzagging through September skies, make caddis worms understand how they live?

Triviality—even jokes—in so-called communications from the dead, cannot be denied; indeed, the occasional indication of a continuing sense of humor, is a great relief; and apparently affectionate impatience continues, too! "Oh," the exasperated communicator cries

sometimes, when we are slow in understanding, "how *can* you be so stupid?" I find that very reassuring—they have not become too bright and good for human nature's daily food. And besides, nobody wants a heaven on stilts. The truth is, the importance of a communication lies, primarily, not in its content, but in the fact that it is a communication! If we could be sure that the words "hickery-dickery-dock, the mouse ran up the clock", were spoken by a dead person, the secret of Eternity would be solved. Triviality does not decide importance. Myers says very much the same thing when he reminds us that the generation of very disagreeable gases in a laboratory, and the incredible minuteness of spectroscopic analysis, gave us our conception of cosmic unity, and told us—"by the heraldry of kindred flame"—the composition of the fixed stars! Which is all a way of saying that attempts to give precision and actuality to these vagrant and, apparently, lawless phenomena, which suggest Mind acting independently of matter, are bound to be hampered by things minute, or unimportant, or even ludicrous;—which encourages us to go on looking through trivialities for William James' residuum!

But all subjective phenomena can't be disposed of by saying "coincidence". For instance, the occasional unaccountable behavior of the subliminal mind, dowsing, crystal gazing, telepathy, clairvoyance; and that terrible and frightening thing, prevision. And our instincts, too, which someone said reach "back to the constitutional properties of protoplasm". If so, they have a long pedigree! But I like better to call instincts and intuitions the psychic crumbs that fall to us humans from the table of our brothers, the animals, and our sisters, the birds.

One covers the various kinds of psychic phenomena by Richet's blanket word, Cryptesthesia;—meaning that the unconscious human mind possesses faculties which sometimes make it aware of occurrences—past, present or future—which bodily senses do not reveal. In fact, cryptesthesia implies that some human minds are omniscient! —a more difficult supposition to me, I confess, than that they are immortal. But of course, ease of belief is not a test of Truth.

I am going to use the various terms included in the blanket word, as if they were explanatory. They are not. Most of them are only names for facts—as "electricity" is the name of a fact; it does not tell us what electricity is. I will just ask you to keep in mind that the "residuum" which we look for in the sieve is intelligence, func-

tioning without an organism. In other words, indications of a discarnate personality.

The next story to be tested for this indication, shows an "intelligence", apparently trying to prove personality. I won't split hairs as to the difference between individuality and personality. Philosophers must do that, but common folks like the rest of us ordinarily use the word "personality" as meaning identity, character, or, more explicitly, *Consciousness, expressing memory and will.* Grant—as a working hypothesis—that a person who has died, wished to make his surviving personality known. How could he do it? If, through a medium, he says, "I am alive! I am still myself;"—we retort, "No, you are not. You are the medium's secondary personality." If, to show his intelligence, he tells us something we don't know—say that his wife is having a "new experience" in catching codfish—we promptly say, "Coincidence!" If, undiscouraged, he describes Heaven—in very earthly phraseology—we say "Imagination!" No; such things don't prove surviving personality, because they're not identifying. What would be identifying? Well, memory would help. But if the alleged communicator offered, as proof, some "remembered" event in his life, wouldn't we instantly object: "The medium has heard of it"? Obviously, then, to establish identity, the "memory" must be something known only to the communicator and the sitter.

It is an instance of this sort of "remembering", which we will put into the sieve. Two persons, Mrs. M. and Miss S. N., sat at a ouija board. The pointer indicated swiftly a lot of letters; as they were recorded they looked like this:

tellsherfatherhastoldmeaboutth
atlawsuitstewartstownproveitandl
etmeknow

Mrs. M. tried, confusedly, to space the letters into words, but as the spelling was without capitals and punctuation, she read "stewart stown", and decided that "stewart" was a proper name, and "stown" was a misspelling for "down". But Miss N., hearing Mrs. M. stumbling over the letters, said, "Can that be Stewarts*town*?" Mrs. M. said, "I suppose it could be, but 'stewartstown' has no meaning."

Miss N. said, with an astonished look, "Why, my father began his medical practice in a place called Stewartstown!"

Mrs. M. then read the whole message to her: *"Tell S. her father has told me about that lawsuit Stewartstown. Prove it and let me know."* "Did your father have any lawsuit in Stewartstown?" Mrs. M. asked

"I'm sure I don't know," Miss S. N. said; "he began to practice there before I was born, so naturally I don't remember much about it!"

"Did you ever hear of any lawsuit in which your father was interested?"

"Never!" said S. However, to settle it, she wrote to her mother, asking whether Doctor N. had ever been sued in Stewartstown. Mrs. N. replied that some forty-two years ago, before she and the doctor were married, there had been a lawsuit;—a crazy boy, in the clutches of a shyster lawyer, had sued the young physician; the case came to trial after her marriage to the doctor, and was decided in his favor. Here, at first glance, is an effort on the part of the deceased Dr. N. to prove his continued existence and personality, by telling his daughter S. that he remembered something that she didn't know (and Mrs. M. didn't know, either); something which could be verified later by persons not present at the time the effort was made. The "memory" of a law suit, entirely unknown to S. N., was, when corroborated later by her mother, highly identifying. But we must immediately ask, *whose* memory was identified? The reply is prompt!—Miss S. N.'s. For, though she was positive that she knew nothing about it, it is hardly conceivable that the doctor had never, in S. N.'s hearing, when she was a child, referred to this important event of his own youth. But if so, the reference had been forgotten in the crowding experiences of her forty-odd years, and now it was hidden among a million other memories! Yet it was there, and it sprang up—no one knows under what cerebral stimulation—to "identify" her father. Why did it emerge at this particular moment? What pushed a memory so appropriate to the purpose of identification, from her unconscious into her conscious mind? The story itself can be called a "buried memory"; but the apparent purpose in its resurrection suggests deliberate selection, and holds it, for me, in the meshes of the sieve, because appropriateness to a particular purpose indicates will, as well as memory. And will and memory, together, constitute Personality. However, packing it into the dimensions of the label "Subliminal Mind", it goes through the sieve and leaves no residuum.

Can the case of Jack Creasy and his Mary be as easily disposed of? "Pore Jack", the communicator called himself, in some automatic writing (and bad spelling) done by the hand of a lady, Miss A.—who certainly knew how to spell!—and who had never heard of Jack. The questions are asked by persons who were present at the sitting. First, written in a faint, illiterate scrawl, came the word "Jack".

("Jack who?") *Jack Creasy.*

("What do you want?") *Help pore Mary.*

("Where did you live") (Writing illegible)

("Where?") *Greenwich.*

("Are you in the flesh?") *No—flesh all burnt.*

("Were you burnt?") *Yes—Piche kitl . . . in Blackwell road.*

("When?") *Long—perhaps twenty month.*

("Was it an accident?") *Awful. Mister Lennard put us to shift the mixter: Bob Heal put the light out for me. The pitch vat cort.*

("What works?") *Tar.*

("What kind of works?") *Abot.*

("What help do you want for Mary?") *Don't know nothin'—find her—ask after pore Jack Creasy's Mary.*

("Is she at Greenwich?") *Can't tell—can't see—she was there.*

Investigation proved that two years before Miss A.'s hand automatically wrote these words, a man named Jack Creasy (whose wife, by the way, was not named Mary!) had been burnt by an explosion of a pitch vat, and had died from the effects of it. The accident took place in the "tar" distilling works of Forbes "Abbott" and Lennard, at "Greenwich". The works were bounded on one side by "Blackwell" Lane. No such person as Bob Heal could be found. But here is the important thing: neither Miss A., nor any of the people present, had ever, so far as they knew, heard of Jack Creasy, or of the Abbott tar works on Blackwell Lane, or of the accident.

Shall we, then, say that Jack's story, in which some sort of "intelligence" certainly functions without an organism (of its own) shall we say Jack is the residuum which indicates survival? There is *will* here—frantic will!—to "help Mary". And there is *memory*—the memory of a terrible accident which killed a man named Jack Creasy. Is "pore Jack", then, as a personality, still alive? Is he breaking through the wall of Miss A.'s bodily senses, and using—having no flesh of his own—her flesh, to write his plea

that somebody should look after Mary? For myself, I say of this consciousness with no body (of its own) "It thinks; therefore it is!" But people who know far more than I do, don't say anything of the kind. They say that two years before this automatic writing, Miss A. may have read some newspaper account of Jack's death. She has not the slightest recollection of having done so, but that doesn't prove she didn't. It is improbable, but it is not impossible. If she did read about it, and forgot it, it might now, suddenly, emerge from her subliminal, and she herself, (like Miss S. N. with her father's lawsuit), supply the personifying, and in Jack's case dramatic details, of anxiety about Mary. With this explanation the thing turns normal, even while it is running through the sieve! In other words, Jack and Mary *are* Miss A. It is trivial, this story of poor, illiterate Jack—unethical Jack, perhaps, because his concern was not for his lawful wedded wife (unless he got names mixed up!)—and it is full of bad spelling, and "pitch kitl's". Yet, if the whole thing isn't one of Miss A.'s buried memories, then Jack and his anxiety about Mary, trivial though they are, may be the floating weed, the spicy fragrance, the wind-blown birds of gorgeous plumage, that met the Spanish galleons. "Jack" may herald a discovery, beside which Columbus' sinks into unimportance!

Another label for a metaphysical fact, Telepathy, indicates that several stories, which, at first sight seem supernormal, are only superusual. Telepathy has been defined as an impression of any kind from one mind to another, independently of recognized channels of sense. "Mind, acting without any known assistance of flesh." It has not been accepted by all psychologists but the recent experiments in England, undertaken by Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. Balfour (although open to the explanation of auditive hyperesthesia,) have established its reality for a good many people, so I think we have a right to use the word "telepathy" to push through the meshes of the sieve anything that threatens to be a residuum.

The first experiment called "telepathic" of which I want to speak, came in installments; and it, too, was on a ouija board, in Paris, in that dark winter of air raids. It may have begun on the 19th of January; at any rate on that date, among many meaningless letters, came the words "test" and "tests". On the 22nd of January there were confused references to someone called "Gus"—a friend (in America) of the alleged communicating intelligence. On the 25th

"Gus" was spelled again, over and over. I cannot express to you the strange sense of *effort* in the repetition: Gus—Gus—Gus. It was like a voice shouting in a fog: Gus! Gus! But this time the spelling seemed to indicate some sort of "will", or intention:

Gus . . . Putting over test . . .
On Gus soon do prove

On January 28th (I hate to bother you with dates, but they are necessary in this story!)—on the 28th of January there was more clarity. First came the initials of the communicator: L. F. D. Then:

Gave Gus certain words. He will let you know. It will come to you.

The fourteen words did not mean anything to the two people at the board. In those terrible days of the Great Offensive, they had other things to think of than incoherent ouija spellings. Nor did they have the slightest expectation of a letter from "Gus"; he wasn't given to writing letters. But on March 6th, five weeks later, a letter did come; it had been dodging submarines, I suppose. It had been written on the 29th of January, twenty-four hours after that spelling promising that "Gus" would let them know. Well, he did let them know!—for he sent in this letter "certain words", jotted down on the back of an old envelope, just as they had been given to him on January 15th on a ouija board in America. They were from the communicator who had promised that "words would come". The words were, in themselves, intelligible, but evidentially unimportant—unless they indicated that a mind had functioned without a body? And they do indicate that, for there was mentality in both the spellings, one on one side of the Atlantic, and one on the other. There was memory—of "Gus"; and there was will to prove personality: "On Gus soon do prove." But if we are going to be thorough about this sieve business, we must immediately ask, "Whose will?" Certainly neither of the ladies using that three-cornered piece of wood, consciously willed anything! Nor could they know that the spelling about "Gus", on the 28th of January, in France, would be corroborated by "Gus" on the 29th of January, in America. But telepathy explains that the remembering and willing consciousness, was that of "Gus" himself—though he didn't know it! The theory is that "Gus", receiving in Boston "certain words", signed by the name of his dead friend, remembered his friend's wife, in Paris. So he sent her (rather belatedly) the little spelling, recorded on the 15th, on the back of the envelope. His thought, inde-

pendently of any known channels of his senses, reached, somehow, the brain of one of those two women at the ouija board, and made her own hand move the pointer, and spell

Gave Gus certain words he will let you know

The mechanism of telepathy (granting its actuality) is an open question. Nobody knows—not even the few psychologists who believe in it, let alone a layman!—whether it has a physical basis, and can be thought of in terms of matter; or whether it is a faculty of the mind, independent of matter. But as a means of squeezing emotion out of an experience so that it may go through the sieve, telepathy works admirably. It doesn't, of course, explain how the thinking, willing consciousness of a brain in America, could use another brain in Europe to produce motor effects, and make a veridical statement. But the "how" is less important to me than the fact; because if "Gus's" mind produced those effects, without the assistance of his body, it would seem that a body is not essential to the operation of a mind. Or put it this way: the intelligent movement of that ouija board in Paris, being due to the mind of a man in Boston, suggests that as telepathy *before death* is possible between living persons, telepathy *after* death, between living and dead persons is at least thinkable, because in either case, mind would have to operate without bodily senses. But in testing the story of "Gus" for a residuum, most of us just say, "Telepathy from 'Gus'," and leave it at that. That the will displayed in these two ouija messages was that of a discarnate mind—a mind on the other side of the grave, not on the other side of the Atlantic—is pure speculation. (And so is telepathy.)

To telepathy we must credit—to get them through the sieve, otherwise they would stick in the meshes and be a residuum!—the dreadfully abstruse cross correspondences reported by the English Society for Psychical Research. It is said that the case called "The Ear of Dionysius", reported by Balfour, is probably the best proof ever recorded that human intelligence can survive death. But those English crosses are so difficult to follow, even in print, that I shan't quote any of them. I shall only give a small, home-made "cross", indicating, it seems to me, an "intelligence", which can't be credited to the medium, nor to John Smith's subliminal. Only telepathy covers it (if it is covered). The experiment was made by three la-

dies, Mrs. H. in Boston, sitting with Mrs. Piper, and, up in Maine, myself and a friend using a ouija board. It was arranged (by mail) that my friend and I would use our board on a day when Mrs. Piper was to produce automatic script for Mrs. H., and that I should ask the "intelligence" who might communicate with us, to give us some word or idea; then, through Mrs. Piper's control (or, if you prefer, call it her secondary personality which names itself "Rector")—through "Rector", write, by Mrs. Piper's hand, the same word or idea. On the day arranged, after the communicator had agreed to make this experiment, the piece of wood on three legs up in Maine, laboriously spelled out the following:

I will try to get the word Washington through rector but rector says he never heard the word hard on old George

In spite of the snub to the father of our country, we wrote to Mrs. H. in Boston, asking her if the word "Washington" had appeared in the Piper script. She replied that it had not. But some weeks afterwards Mrs. H. and I, looking over the script, came upon four words, in an abruptly different hand—a big, black, violent scrawl. These four words had no apparent relation to the rest of the message, nor had they the slightest meaning to Mrs. H. They were:

Somebody here called George

That was all. It is not much of a cross correspondence, I admit. In fact, some people might turn it down as nothing but coincidence,—and not very striking at that! Telepathy, however, claims it for its own, by saying that my concentration upon the word "Washington", impressed the entranced Mrs. Piper, a hundred miles away, to write it. But no; the telepathic theory breaks down here, because Mrs. Piper *didn't* write it! She wrote the word which so often precedes Washington; she wrote "George". The communicator had said, in Maine, that Mrs. Piper's control, "Rector", had never heard the word "Washington", and implied—with his impertinent (and highly characteristic!) "hard on old George!", that this might be wounding to the vanity of the first President. But perhaps "Rector" had heard the very ordinary name, "George"? However, that is a speculation. There is a good deal of "speculation", on both sides of this question of survival! All we can say is that this cross correspondence indicates a personality, because will and, perhaps, memory are displayed; Will—which ingeniously circumvented "Rector's" sad his-

torical ignorance by the use of the word "George"; and memory, which indicated the historical—if elementary!—knowledge of the communicator. Telepathy says, however, that that will and memory, and the circumvention of "George", though they do indicate personality, are not the residuum, because the personality indicated was embodied! Was, in fact, my own. It was my mind that, somehow, across Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, impressed that part of Mrs. Piper's mind which she names Rector, and made her hand write "George". As in the case of "Gus", an incarnate mind (mine) did, without any detectible assistance of the physical senses, cause another incarnate mind to produce physical effects. So this story does not prove that, after death, the spirit is not "dispersed into thin air". Call it telepathy, and Washington's first name, George, appearing (with appropriateness to the occasion) in two widely separate places on the same day, goes through the sieve, and falls on the growing heap of the entirely normal, and Solomon's materialist may exult in the melancholy triumph of being able to say, "I told you so".

But there are psychic phenomena which can't be called telepathic; for instance, the story of Mrs. Agnes Pacquet's brother, Ed Dunn. Now Ed was a fireman on a tugboat in Chicago Harbor, and he was drowned one October night, towards dawn. Mrs. Pacquet's story, (somewhat condensed) follows:

"On the morning of the accident . . . I awoke feeling gloomy and depressed. . . . I went into the pantry, took down the tea canister, and as I turned around my brother Edmund—or his exact image—stood before me . . . . only a few feet away. The apparition stood with back toward me, and was in the act of falling forward . . . . seemingly impelled by a loop of rope drawing against his legs. The vision lasted but a moment, disappearing over a railing or bulwark. I dropped the tea, and exclaimed, 'My God! Ed is drowned.' At about half past ten a. m. my husband received a telegram from Chicago announcing the drowning of my brother. . . . He said to me, 'Ed is sick in the hospital in Chicago; I have just received a telegram.' To which I replied, 'Ed is drowned! I saw him go overboard'. I then gave him a description of what I had seen; that my brother had on a heavy blue sailor's shirt; that he went over the rail. I noticed that his pants legs were rolled up enough to see the white lining inside."

The actual facts were that on that night Edmund Dunn, while adjusting a tow line, on the tug "Wolf", was thrown overboard by the line and drowned. The crew testified that Ed had lately purchased a pair of new trousers, and as they were a trifle long he had rolled them up, "showing the white lining".

It is difficult to find a normal label for this story. "Coincidence" is too far fetched; the "Subliminal Mind" can't resurrect what it hasn't buried! "Telepathy" would have to be stretched to the breaking point before we could believe that Ed, in that swift moment of dying, thought of his sister, *and of the white lining of his new "pants"*. Such self-consciousness, under such circumstances, is a too incredible suggestion! We can only label the story telepathic, by accepting the theory that the crew of the "Wolf", who saw the accident and the details, *thought* the white lining of the trousers to Ed, who, dying, *thought* the crew's thought to Mrs. Pacquet. This may be normal, but it is also swallowing a camel after having strained out a gnat. "Hallucination" is another label—meaning that Mrs. Pacquet, standing in her pantry, suffered for a moment some bodily change or lesion, which made her think she saw Ed's ghost. But though an hallucination may be normal, in the sense of being pathological, (with the accompanying implication that the brain is the self)—the word doesn't account for the appropriateness of the apparition to the occasion. Appropriateness! I am impressed by the way in which, in all these stories, that word lingers in the sieve; because appropriateness may mean selection—and, *who selects?* However, appropriateness may, also, be mere coincidence,—so let it go. We won't assume an unknown cause if we can find a known one; and the known one may be clairvoyance. Certainly, clairvoyance on the part of Mrs. Pacquet is nearer the normal than the striking timeliness of that hallucination. To define it, "Clairvoyance is the faculty of perceiving, as though visually—*with coincidental truth*—some distant scene or event". As Ed's sister stood with the tea canister in her hand, she saw ((if you can say "saw" when the eyes of the flesh had nothing to do with it and when the seeing took place some three hours after the event) she saw the twisted tow rope, the blue shirt, the backward stumble. This so compppletely rules out "spirits", that Solomon's materialist may easily say, "Ed Dunn is as though he had never been"! For whatever clairvoyance may be, it is not, necessarily, related to the theory of survival. (And Time

doesn't seem to enter into it—which makes old-fashioned people like myself remember certain words: . . . "there should be Time no longer.") The clairvoyant's occasional vagrant vision of this or that place or event, is like seeing, in the sudden illumination of a flash of lightning, a midnight landscape. Such a glimpse is generally meaningless; it *may* be of a sailor falling overboard; or, what is just as likely, an apple cart in Seattle, or a cave man rooting for grubs; for everything—past, present, future—lies in the dark landscape, unseen until the flash comes! Then, a crash of details!—of which one or two are, perhaps, printed on the memory. If this is so, it would be absurd to attribute Ed Dunn—or the cave man or the apple cart—to "spirits". One just says of Agnes Pacquet, "Clairvoyance!"—without explaining how, without the aid of a physical sense, she was aware of a physical (and coincidental) fact.

I know another story which—if one uses sufficient circumlocution, —may also be labeled "Clairvoyance". It is concerned with a baby's rompers. About a year and a half ago a friend, whom I will call Molly, and I, were sitting with Mrs. Piper, in Boston, and Molly's sister Lucy, who had died, "purported" (as the saying is) to write with the entranced Mrs. Piper's hand. She said that the day before she had seen her mother, in another town, doing so and so. The statement was correct; but as Molly happened to know exactly what her mother had been doing at the time, she, of course, credited the information to mind reading on the part of Mrs. Piper. Then another personality begin to write, but paused to say:

Lucy has gone again to find mother and see what she is doing.

I, rather surprised, said, "What! Now?" There was no reply; the other communicator just went on writing about his own affairs, then some 20 minutes later, paused, to say, abruptly:

Here's Lucy!

I said, as nearly as I can remember, "Well, Lucy, did you see your mother? What was she doing?" Mrs. Piper's hand wrote:

Mother just looked at morning news (here followed a drawing of newspaper) *and laid it on a little table. Picked up what looked like a box of buttons* (Here the hand drew seven little circles—o o o o o o o—suggesting buttons) *and shook them. Looked into it, picked up 2 or 3 and sat down in a chair to put them in another place.*

Later this was reported to Lucy's mother, who said that at the time this was being written in Boston, she may have been reading a paper; she generally did at about that hour, but she couldn't be certain. But she *was* certain that she had taken up a little tray of buttons, perhaps a dozen, shaken it, because (she remembered) some ravellings were clinging to the buttons, then picked out two, and sat down to sew them on to her little granddaughter's rompers. To me, those buttons for a baby's bloomers lie as a residuum in the sieve, when golden crowns or harps would have slipped through! No eyes of flesh saw that simple domestic scene. Mrs. Piper, in Boston, knew nothing of Lucy's mother, or of her occupations; nor did Lucy's sister, Molly, have any idea what was going on in Cambridge at 11:30 that April morning. Yet here is a statement coincidental with an event:—"she picked up a box of buttons and shook them." Did Mrs. Piper, in Boston, entirely unacquainted with Lucy's mother, and in a profound trance, somehow push aside the blind-folding flesh, and see the white-haired mother "shake" the box of buttons, and then, with gentle, trembling old hands, "pick up" two buttons? Or was it just that Mrs. Piper's unconscious mind dropped into romance, and said that Lucy had "gone to see her mother"? Did that chance statement of hers cause Molly to imagine, and perhaps visualize, her mother, sewing? Did Mrs. Piper read this in her mind, and coincidence do all the rest, filling out the drama with a reference, which chanced to be veridical, to "buttons" which had to be "shaken" to free them from ravellings? Or, if Molly's imagination, Mrs. Piper's mind reading, and the chance of a lucky hit, makes too great a strain on our credulity, shall we just call it clairvoyance on the part of Mrs. Piper? At any rate that word takes the story (with some pushing and straining) through the sieve. Yet again, it only labels. It doesn't explain. And it leaves us wondering about that "coincidental truth" . . . Does the brain, do you suppose, wall us in from infinitude? And does something, sometimes, shift, for an instant, jolting the mechanism of the senses out of their track and throwing consciousness on to a new radius of awareness? An awareness of that unseen landscape; awareness of Reality, Time, Space—God, maybe? Suppose—the mind of curiosity must "suppose", or it would have no wings!—suppose

> "...if, that the All-moving were the One
> Reality.....

Then, by the self-same power in man himself—
Whatever was real in man, might understand
That same Reality, being one substance with it,
One substance with the essential soul of all."

If so, then the clairvoyant may literally "see with larger eyes than ours, and view like God the rolling years!" Were the walls of Mrs. Pacquet's senses breached, so that she had such "viewing"? Did Mrs. Piper, in like fashion, see the box of buttons? Was it by such rending of the veil that George's mother knew he was "having a good time"! That would mean that to these three souls—being of one substance with the essential soul of all—the awarenesses of the Whole were made manifest, so that they, like God, could see the tug "Wolf" and Ed, or Lucy's mother—or even George.

Solomon says something to that effect when, commenting on the materialist's conviction that life shall pass away as the traces of a cloud, he says: "Thus reasoned they, and they were led astray; for God created man to be immortal—*and made him an image of His own Eternity.*"

Man of one substance... Yes, the wings of wondering carry us as high as that! But we must come down again to precise terminology, and say that neither the buttons, nor Ed Dunn, constitute a residuum which proves survival, because that word "clairvoyance" takes them both through the sieve and names them normal. Yet it leaves something glimmering on the meshes, it leaves the implication that, though Ed is not the residuum, *perhaps his sister is?* The implication that the soul only lives in the body, and sometimes, if the door happens to be ajar, it steps out and sees—that which it hath not entered the heart of man to conceive!

As another effort to find the residuum, I will tell you the story of Robin. Sir William Barrett sent it to me, as it came to him from Robin's mother. She said that about three weeks after the boy's death (his ship had been torpedoed and he was drowned), she went to the house of her brother in London:—but I'll give you (slightly abbreviated) her report to Sir William.

"I went," she wrote, "to my brother's house. His cook asked me if I was interested in spiritualism. I asked her why; she replied that her sister Mary, who had previously lived with my brother as parlor maid, had received a message from my boy, whom she knew as a youngster. This message was that my boy wished me to know

that he had not suffered at all, but had died from shock. I had not seen this girl for two and a half years. The message was not evidential, for she may have heard of my son's death. So I requested that if my boy appeared again to her, he would send me something to prove his identity." Later Robin's mother saw Mary . . . "and she told me she had again seen my son, and he had given her a message which she could make nothing of. He said, 'Tell mother I hope Stella (his sister) has been able to get the gray suede shoes. Tell mother I hope she will keep the pen in a sheath always by her'." The mother adds: "The day before my son left home, his sister was hunting round different shops for gray suede shoes, and my son and I spent the morning going from shop to shop seeking for a chatelaine case for my fountain pen, which he gave me as a parting present. Now Mary had not seen either me or my son, or any member of my family, since she married, and there was no possible means of her knowing or finding out anything whatever about the pen or the shoes."

None of the normal labels we have used fit this story; even the hard-worked theory of telepathy from the living, which explained "Gus" and "George" Washington, won't dispose of Robin, unless we say that his mother transferred her memory of Stella's slippers to the cook's mind—who transferred the transferred memory to the parlor maid's mind. To believe that, we would have to swallow two camels! But will Robin be considered the evidential "residuum" by anyone—except his mother, and Stella, and the parlor maid? Probably not. On this subject, other people's convictions do not convince. Do you remember what was said to Dives when he wanted to go back and warn his brothers? "Neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." Most of us dodge in any direction to escape from being "persuaded" that, for instance, Jack Creasy rose from the dead to ask help for his poor Mary; or that Robin was so anxious to comfort his mother, that he came back to tell the parlor maid to tell her (as a proof that he was still living) that he remembered Stella's shoes! In this instance we dodge by saying, "Why didn't Robin speak to his mother, *direct,* instead of the parlor maid?" Well, why don't we use a piece of string for telephoning? Because we have to use a wire! Mary was a wire;—Robin's mother (like most of us) was just string. However, the story of Robin is not the residuum in the sieve, because we have still one label left to attach to it—the Cosmic Mind. Like the other labels, it is only a name;

but not, this time, for a fact; only for an hypothesis—the hypothesis of a continuing awareness—a sort of Reservoir of all the thoughts that have ever been thought by all the human beings who have ever lived since the beginning of time. An unthinkably vast Remembering, out of which multitudes of memories which no man can number, of all peoples and kindreds and tongues, Mary, it is alleged, drew a single memory, appropriate—not to herself, or the cook, or one of the millions of remembering and grieving mothers in the world—but to Robin, and his mother.

Another story labeled Cosmic Mind, is the famous experiment of Sir William Crookes. He was alone with his medium—testing for that eluding residuum, and finding it constantly slip through the sieve on the words "unconscious cerebration." To eliminate that, he said to the communicating intelligence (I quote from his report)—he said to this Intelligence which was, it alleged, using the hand of the medium to operate a planchette: "Can you see the contents of this room?" The planchette wrote "Yes." "Can you see to read this newspaper?" (A copy of the London *Times* was on a table behind him). The planchette wrote "Yes." Sir William was standing between the table and the medium, with his back to the table; neither he nor she could, by any normal possibility, read that paper. He put his hand behind him, put one finger down—somewhere! anywhere! —on the paper. "Well," he said, "if you can see that, write the word that is now covered by my finger, and I will believe you." The planchette hesitated, then slowly wrote one word: *"however"*. The scientist turned, lifted his finger, and read *"however"*. Unless we say about Crookes, "the boy lied"—which, of course, would be silly —we find nothing but a willed clairvoyance, which would be personality in Omniscience, to account for that "however". The medium "saw", without physical eyes, through the body of Sir William; "saw", under his pressing finger, the coincidental fact—the hidden word. That indication of knowledge and will, is one step ahead of Mrs. Pacquet and Mary, for their experiences had a relation to human minds, and the word "however" had no human connection. Hence it does not go through the sieve on any of the normal labels. It is, to me, the residuum, which reveals a mind functioning without an organism... Does it reveal more than that? Does it suggest that the One Mind (whose awareness is Eternity) is made up of swarms of minds? Congeries of minds!—dynamic, indestructible electrons of personality, persisting in the Mass of Awareness,

in that *Whole,* which some of us call God? Conceivably, God knew about Ed; knew about the buttons for the baby's rompers; knew about Stella's slippers; knew that word "however". Could one of the minds of the swarm—Agnes Pacquet's mind, say—swirl for a second close enough to catch that glimpse of what the Whole knew—namely, that Ed was drowned? If so, she remained herself, for the glimpse was appropriate to her; she felt grief! And grief—like love, like memory, like will—is an attribute of personality. So, though part of infinity, she remained finite! Did some other consciousness in the swarm—Robin's consciousness—have a flash of contact with the parlor maid's consciousness, and so get his message through to his mother? Did Lucy tell Molly something about their mother, which Mrs. Piper caught, and wrote down? Did Sir William Crookes' medium, push the blindness of her physical eyes aside, and read, with the eyes of the spirit, that word "however"?

We can speculate thus about each of the trivial stories I have told you, because in all of them is this "residuum"; this intelligence, displaying memory, will, appropriateness, selection—which together equal what we call *ourselves.* But this residuum does not mean that the human self is lost, swallowed up by the Cosmic Mind, as the rain drop is swallowed by the sea! On the contrary, it makes our personality fit into the scheme of Universal Consciousness, like a speck in a stupendous picture puzzle; a necessary speck, perfect in its place in the Whole, yet perfect in itself *as a speck;*—as enduring in its personality as the whole Picture—the whole Plan—the whole Universe. As immortal as God. As normal as God!

Perhaps this is all the wild surmise that we make, staring at each other, silent upon the peak in Darien; but it is thinkable. To me, it is more than thinkable, it is an unavoidable deduction. Call it intuition,—in George's mother it was plainly intuition. To me, it it is intuition, pillared and buttressed by Reason! George's mother called it Faith (oh, beautiful word—so maltreated, like the word "God," by theology!), and she never needed, as I did, to add to her faith, knowledge. But Intuition, Faith, and, perhaps last of all Reason, plodding with heavy, steady feet behind those other two winged words—even Reason may say, "Yes, it is *thinkable*—that the Universe, whose thought is the Pleiades, and New England hills in October, and the laughter of little children, and the gallantry of old age, and the faithful love of a dog;—it is thinkable, that the Conscious Whole is made up of our consciousnesses."

To be sure, Reason adds that we are only motes in the light of stupendous suns, atoms of personality in the abysmal deeps of the Everlasting Personality. But even so, we cannot be exiled from Majesty, if we are part of It! Which, obviously we are,—for we, too, know Beauty, Order, Love, Genius,—Calvary. Is it too much, then, to expect that the Self which contains, shall continue Its individual selves, being, indeed, dependent on them? It was not too great an expectation for George's mother; "I am so happy," she said.

So, using one of the many renderings of Job's poem, I answer for myself that old question: "If a man die, shall he live again?"—"Yes! for

> "Even now, behold my witness is in heaven,
> For I know that my Redeemer liveth,
> And at last he shall stand up above the earth,
> And after my skin, even this body, is destroyed,
> Then without my flesh shall I see—God."

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

PART II

Convinced of the Rarity of Genuine Psychical Phenomena

CHAPTER VII

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AS A UNIVERSITY STUDY

By William McDougall

This course of lectures on Psychical Research is, I believe, the first of its kind to be given in any university, whether of this or of any other country; and I venture to think that this innovation will prove to be yet another leaf added to the laurels of Clark University, already so distinguished by its impartial and courageous spirit of research.

Other lecturers, persons distinguished in the most various lines of activity, but all of them qualified by special study of the field of Psychical Research, will deal with special parts of aspects of the field and from the most diverse points of view. For it is the intention of those who have designed the course that it should represent with perfect impartiality every point of view from which this most difficult and controversial field may be approached; the only stipulation being that each lecturer shall present his facts, his evidences, and his reasoning upon them in a truly critical spirit and with all the impartiality and openness of mind attainable by him.

This course being so great an innovation, it is fitting that this lecture should be devoted to the justification of the inclusion of Psychical Research among University Studies; for there can be no doubt that Clark University, while it will be praised by many for its courage and its pioneer spirit in thus opening its doors to a study hitherto denied University recognition, will also be severely criticized by others. It will be said by those adverse critics that the University is encouraging superstition and countenancing charlatanry; that it runs the risk of leading its students into a slough of despair, of entangling them in a quagmire where no sure footing is to be found, where will-o'-the-wisps gleam fitfully on every hand, provoking hopes that are destined to disappointment and emotions that blind us to the dangers of this obscure region; dangers ranging from mere waste of time to disturbance of intellectual balance and loss of critical judgment; dangers which he who enters by the gate we seek to open must inevitably encounter.

Let me begin, then, by frankly admitting that such criticism is not wholly without substance and foundation. The field of Psychical Research has pitfalls and morasses unknown in other fields of science. The student entering this field cannot avoid contact with vast currents of traditional sentiment, which sentiments, in nearly all cases, he either shares or repudiates with an intensity of feeling that renders calm and critical judgment well nigh impossible. It is as though the student were invited to embark with Coleridge's Ancient Mariner; to exclaim, with him, "We were the first that ever burst into that Silent Sea"; to witness, with him, strange and even horrible phenomena that seem to defy all the ascertained laws of nature, a phantasmagoria that can have no reality and no origin other than the phantasy of minds disordered by the conflict of strong emotions and blinded by glittering hopes long held before the imagination of mankind, hopes long deferred and now threatened with total extinction by the triumphant progress of scientific enquiry.

Let it be admitted, then, that this is no field for the casual amateur; for the man who merely wishes to take a rapid glance at the phenomena and thereupon form his own conclusions; for the person who approaches it in the hope of finding solace for some personal bereavement; for the dilettante who merely seeks a new and sensational hobby. It is a field of research which at every step demands in the highest degree the scientific spirit and all round scientific training and knowledge; a field which gives the widest scope for the virtues of the scientific intellect and character and which, just because it makes these demands and affords this scope, is of the greatest value as an intellectual discipline.

Here the mind long disciplined in other branches of science may find the supreme test of its powers and its training, tests of impartial observation, of relevant selection, of sagacious induction and deduction, of resolute discounting of emotional bias and personal influence. Here, better than in any other field, it may learn to recognize its own limitations, limitations of knowledge, of power, of principle; and to recognize also the limitations of science and philosophy themselves, their inadequacy to give final answers to problems which mankind has long answered with ready-made formulae, handed down from the dim dawn of human reflection, and before which it now halts with burning desire for certainty or unsatisfied longing for more light.

The difficulty, the obscurity, the dangers of a field of research are

no sufficient grounds for excluding it from our Universities. Has not the teaching of all science in our schools and Universities been vigorously opposed on just such grounds, on the ground that such teaching might lead young people into intellectual and moral error, or raise in their souls insoluble problems and conflicts that would destroy their peace of mind? That question has been decisively answered. Our Western civilization has definitely repudiated the old way of authority, has committed itself irrevocably to live by knowledge, such knowledge as the methods of science can attain. It cannot return to live by instinct and traditional beliefs; it has gone so far along the path of knowledge and of self-direction in the light of knowledge that it cannot stop or turn back without disaster. The inclusion of Psychical Research in the scientific studies of our Universities is the inevitable last step in this advance from a social state founded on instinct and tradition to one that relies upon knowledge and reason.

But it may be answered by our opponents.—The introduction of Science to our Universities was justified, in spite of its risks, because Science offers a mass of well established truths, truths which are indispensable to the life of the modern state. Psychical Research has rightly been excluded because it furnishes no such body of established truth; it has solved no problems, has attained to no sure conclusions.

Let us admit that this contention also is not without substance and force. But to accept it as a sufficient argument would be disastrous. It would imply a false and fatally narrow view of the functions of our Universities. It is on just such grounds that the movement against the teaching of evolution takes it stand. It is said that evolutionary biology must not be studied by young people, because evolution is not an established fact, but merely a theory, or a mass of unverified hypotheses. Yet all enlightened opinion rejects this reasoning, rightly holding that the teaching of established truth is only one of, and perhaps not the most important of, the functions of a modern University. Such teaching may perhaps be the sole or main function of Technical Schools. Our Universities have other, higher, more important functions.

We may, I think, distinguish three main functions of the University, as follows: First, the function of educating the young people within its gates; secondly, the function of research, of extending the bounds of knowledge; thirdly, a function which, as the life of the modern State assumes an accelerating complexity, becomes more and

more important, namely, the function of exerting a controlling influence in the formation of public opinion on all vital matters. Consider each of these three great functions in relation to our question: Should Psychical Research find a place in our Universities?

First, then, the educational function. Under this head we may properly distinguish two very different, though inseparable, subfunctions; namely, first, the imparting of knowledge; secondly, intellectual and moral discipline. It is only as regards the former of these that Psychical Research is open to the indictment of its opponents. Let us admit, for the purpose of the argument, that it has not achieved any conclusions that may be taught as firmly established truths. That admission denies it a role only in what we may roughly estimate as one-sixth of the total field of activity of the modern University, a fraction of the field which is its lowest or least important part.

As regards the other educational functions, intellectual training and moral discipline, it may well be claimed for Psychical Research that it ranks very high, perhaps highest of all possible subjects of University Study. For consider—In what does such discipline consist? First, in attacking problems patiently and resolutely, in spite of failures and disappointments, in spite of uncertainty that any solution may be attainable. Surely, in this respect Psychical Research may claim a foremost place! No other field of study makes such large demands on the patience and resolution of the student. Secondly, the discipline of observing exactly and recording faithfully phenomena presented to our senses. There is a lower form of such discipline to which the young student of science is extensively subjected; namely, the task of recording as exactly as possible all he can observe within some very limited field; as when he has to weigh exactly some chemical substance, or when he is set down before a microscope and required to draw what is there presented to his view. Psychical Research offers little scope for discipline of just this kind; but this is a lower form of observation, one which does not of itself lead to discovery. There is a higher form of observation which requires selective sagacity; it is conducted with a problem in view and under the guidance of some hypothesis which is to be tested. It requires the observer to distinguish the relevant from the irrelevant, to look for the relevant, to concentrate upon it, and to devise experiments which shall isolate or accentuate the relevant. For discipline in this higher kind of directed observation, Psychical Research

offers unlimited opportunities and makes upon the observer demands of the highest order. Then as regards the reasoning processes by aid of which general conclusions are drawn from the phenomena observed. Here the demands upon the thinker in the field of Psychical Research are very great and the discipline consequently severe. The physicist or chemist observes the reactions of a single sample of some substance under particular conditions, and is forthwith in a position to state a general conclusion with high probability. The biologist observes some particular feature in fifty or one hundred specimens of some species and, without great risk, makes a generalization as probably true of all members of the species.

But the Psychical Researcher is dealing with the most complex and highly individualized of all known objects, namely human beings; before he can summarize his observations in any generalized statement, he must exercise infinite caution, observe unlimited precautions, be ready to allow for an immense range of possible disturbing factors of unknown nature and magnitude. And, when he proceeds to apply statistical treatment to his data of observation, he finds himself facing problems of unrivalled delicacy. For he can never, like other scientists, be content with the comfortable assumption that each of his unit facts is exactly or even approximately equivalent to every other one of the same general order.

If, by reason of the complexity and delicacy of its problems, Psychical Research rivals all other branches of science, it far surpasses them all in respect of the demands it makes on character and, consequently, in respect of the character-discipline which it affords. It requires perfectly controlled temper, and a large and understanding tolerance of human weaknesses of every kind, intellectual and moral alike; an infinite patience in face of renewed disappointments; a moral courage which faces not merely the risk and even the probability of failure, but also the risk of loss of reputation for judgment, balance, and sanity itself. And, the most insidious of all dangers, the danger of emotional bias in favour of one or other solution of the problem in hand, is apt to be infinitely greater for the Psychical Researcher than for the worker in any other field of sicence; for, not only is he swayed by strong sentiments within his own breast, but also he knows that both the scientific world and the general public will react with strong emotional bias to any conclusion he may announce, just because such conclusions must have intimate bearing on the great controversy between Science and Religion, a controversy

which, in spite of the soothing reassurances which great scientists and religious leaders now utter in unison, is still acute and may well become again even more embittered and violent than it has been in the past.

As regards the second function of the University, the extension of knowledge, Psychical Research may boldly claim its place within the fold; on this ground any opposition to it can only arise from narrow dogmatic ignorance, that higher kind of ignorance which so often goes with a wealth of scientific knowledge, the ignorance which permits a man to lay down dogmatically the boundaries of our knowledge and to exclaim *"ignorabimus."* This cry—"we shall not, cannot know!"—is apt to masquerade as scientific humility, while, in reality, it expresses an unscientific arrogance and philosophic incompetence. For the man who utters it arrogates to himself a knowledge of the limits of human knowledge and capacity that is wholly unwarranted and illusory. To cry *ignorabimus* in face of the problems of Psychical Research, and to refuse on that ground to support or countenance its labour, is disingenuous camouflage; for the assertion that we shall not and cannot know the answers to these problems implies a knowledge which we certainly have not yet attained and which, if in principle it be attainable, lies in the distant future when the methods of Psychical Research shall have been systematically developed and worked for all they may be worth. The history of Science is full of warnings against such dogmatic agnosticism, the agnosticism which does not content itself with the frank and humble avowal that we do not know, but which presumes to assert that we cannot know.

Let us suppose that, after forty years of tentative skirmishing in the wilderness, Psychical Research, in part as the consequence of this course of lectures, should be received within the scientific fold and systematically cultivated in our Universities; and suppose that, after a hundred years of such cultivation, its representatives, surveying the results of all the work done, should find themselves compelled to utter a purely negative verdict, to assert that Psychical Research had attained to no positive answers to any of the problems it had set out to solve. What then? We should still have to repeat—There is the gate to which we have no key; there is the veil through which we may not see. But, also, we should still have to add—And there the Master-knot of Human Fate! And, though Science might then turn aside, baffled and discouraged, it would at least have given some re-

spectable foundation for the cry *Ignorabimus* and have made some real contribution to our knowledge of the limitations of human knowledge.

But, some hearer will object, this question of the limits of human knowledge is one not for Science but for Philosophy; and in all our Universities Philosophy has long had a well recognized place and its numerous representatives; it is for the philosophers to answer the questions which Science leaves unsolved. Such an objection would imply an old-fashioned and quite mistaken view of the scope and functions of Philosophy.

Philosophy may rightly claim to teach us how to think, how to live, and how to die. It may answer the question—Given the present state of the world and of our knowledge of it, what ought I to do? But it is wholly incompetent to answer the questions—What may I hope? What may I expect? A cosmogony that is to be more than a fanciful speculation must be a scientific cosmogony; and, as science progresses, our cosmogony must change with it. Every cosmogony that professes to be philosophical rather than scientific is a hollow pretense. Only Science working by the methods of Science can presume to answer the question—What is? Philosophy must learn that its proper field is defined by the question—What ought to be?

And here I will ask leave to revert to the disciplinary, the educational, function of Psychical Research with special reference to students of Philosophy. In my opinion, formed through considerable contact with such students, their chief lack is knowledge of Science; and of all forms of Science that which can most enlighten them in literature can go far to induce in them that which so many of them need, namely, a clear recognition of the limitations of the scope of Philosophy and a corresponding humility in themselves as philosophers. For here they will find that questions which philosophers through all the ages have answered in their peculiar and utterly diverse fashions are capable of being approached by the methods of Science; and the mere act of following in imagination such lines of approach can hardly fail to bring home to the student the fact that the methods of Philosophy, divorced from Science, are of no avail. He will be brought to realize that Philosophy, whether it aims to sketch the main features of the Universe or seeks to instruct us regarding the values and the duties of mankind, must, in both cases, proceed from the fullest possible knowledge of what Science has achieved, or lay itself open to

those charges of futility and ignorant presumption which so often have been launched against it.

What, then, are the essential questions on which we may expect new light from Psychical Research? They may all be resumed in one, namely—Does Mind transcend matter? Or more fully stated—Is all that we call mental, intellectual or spiritual activity, is all understanding and reason, all moral effort, volition, and personality, merely the outcome and expression of a higher synthesis of physical structures and processes and, therefore, subject to the same general laws and interpretable by the same general principles as those which Physical Science arrives at from the study of the inanimate world? Or are mental activities, are all or some of the essential functions of personality, in some degree independent of the physical basis with which they are so intricately interwoven? Have they their own peculiar nature, interpretable only in terms of principles quite other than those whose validity has been proved by the victory of man over his physical environment?

It is the old problem of materialism *versus* spiritualism or idealism, of mechanism *versus* vitalism in biology; or, as I would prefer to formulate it, the problem of animism *versus* mechanistic-monism.[1] This has been the central problem of Philosophy for more than two thousand years; and always the philosophers have been pretty equally divided into two groups, those who say "Yes" and those who say "No". The course of development of modern Science has on the whole tended strongly to give predominance to the view which denies the transcendence of Mind. Idealistic philosophers have struggled in vain to stem this tide, urging that it is absurd to regard as subject to the laws formulated for the interpretation of physical phenomena, the mind, which conceives the physical world and which has itself in some degree created those phenomena.

But this and all similar reasoning remains inconclusive and must ever remain so. We are up against a question of empirical fact; and the answer to the question can be brought only by the methods of empirical Science.

Many of the greater physicists have inclined to think that their own science points towards a positive answer to this question of transcendence; and it is possible that the progress of physical science and of

[1]This formulation of the problem is explained and defended in my book, *Body and Mind*.

biology may in the course of time lead us to a decisive answer to this central problem. But, if so, the answer will be achieved only very slowly by very indirect methods of attack. The essence of Psychical Research is the proposal to attack the problem directly. If Mind in any manner and degree transcends the physical world and its laws, surely it may somehow and somewhere be possible to obtain direct evidence of the fact by the methods of science, by observation of phenomena and by reasoning from them! That is the proposition on which Psychical Research is founded. Psychical Research proposes, then, to go out to seek such phenomena, namely phenomena pointing directly to the transcendence of Mind, and, if possible, to provoke them experimentally. Phenomena of this kind have been reported in every age; and in every age antecedent to our own age, dominated as it is by the principles of scientific evidence, their obvious implication has been accepted. Psychical Research proposes to marshal all such sporadically and spontaneously occuring phenomena, to examine them critically, to classify them, to discover if possible the laws of their occurence and to add to them experimentally induced phenomena of similar types.

Consider now the third great function of our Univerities, the guidance of public opinion. It is perhaps from this point of view that the admission of Psychical Research to the Universities is most urgently needed. Here is a most obscure question vitally affecting the intellectual outlook and the moral life of men in general. Surely it is for the Universities to find, if possible, the light that we need! What ground can be found for their neglect or repudiation of the task? Several such grounds are implied, though rarely formulated explicitly.

First it may be said, the task is one for the philosophers and theologians, who are well represented in the Universities. But philosophers and theologians have wrestled with it for long ages; and there is no faintest reason to believe that by their methods alone they can achieve in the future any greater success than they have attained in the past. Let us glance at the grounds they offer us for accepting a positive answer in face of the general tendency of science to insist on the negative answer. They may all be reduced to two. First, the moral ground; to believe in the transcendence of Mind is a moral need of mankind in general. Such belief, it is said, is essential to the maintenance and progress of our civilization. Our civilization has been built up on a foundation of and under the sway

of such belief; and, if that foundation and that influence should be taken away, our civilization must surely decline; even though it be possible for exceptional individuals to continue to attain high moral excellence in an attitude of stoic agnosticism. This argument is respectable; it has weight and substance. Given a balance of evidence and the impossibility of assured knowledge, we would be justified in accepting that view which seems the more conducive to human welfare. This argument, which perhaps William James was the first to state and defend explicitly, is, I suppose, implied by those who ask us to continue to accept the transcendence of Mind as an article of faith. But this moral argument in no sense justifies a refusal to countenance or support Psychical Research, which is nothing less than an endeavour to replace faith by knowledge in this matter. If, from time to time, religious leaders exhort their flocks to eschew Psychical Research and pour scorn upon it and all its works, we cannot wholly acquit them of a preference for ignorance over against knowledge. It would seem that they fear the result of Psychical Research; they fear either a negative outcome of the great enquiry, or a positive outcome which shall disturb the minds of their flocks by bringing knowledge not strictly in accord with traditional beliefs. Therefore they ask us to remain content to accept these beliefs on authority. But it is too late to advocate that policy with any hope of success. As I said before, it is obvious that we have left the age of authority behind and that our civilization is irrevocably committed to the attempt to live by knowledge, rather than by instinct and authority. Consider now the second main ground offered for acceptance of the positive answer. If we ask whence does ecclesiastical authority derive the views it seeks to impose, the answer is that they are founded upon alleged historical events of a remote age, events of just such a nature as Psychical Research is concerned to investigate at first hand as contemporary events. However we regard the evidence of those remote events, we can hardly claim that the lapse of some two thousand years has made the evidence of them less disputable; and in any case it is clear that mankind in general is ceasing to find that evidence sufficient. More and more we are inclined to say—You ask us to accept the transcendence of mind because we have certain records of events which, if the records be above suspicion, would seem to justify and establish that belief; and yet you would forbid us to examine, in a candid and critical spirit, similar events that are reported as occuring among friends and neighbours. Truly, he who repudiates

Psychical Research in the interests of religion and of religious authority cannot easily be absolved from the charge of a timid obscurantism.

But it is not only in respect of this high problem of transcendence that public opinion needs from the Universities guidance of a kind which they can give only if they cultivate Psychical Research. That after all is a problem for the intellectual few; although the views of those few may have far-reaching influence upon the lives of the many. The great public does not much concern itself with the question—Are we truly in some degree rational beings capable of moral choice and creative endeavour? In the main they continue to regard themselves as such beings, in spite of all statements of scientists and philosophers to the contrary. But they are much concerned to know what kind and degree of influence Mind can exert upon bodily processes, what truth there is in the claims of many sects and schools of mental healers. They do keenly desire to know whether there is a kernel of truth in the widely accepted claims of communication with departed friends; whether each of us, as science tells us, is forever shut off from all his fellows by the distorting and inadequate means of communication provided by sense-organs and muscular system; whether there is not some common stock of memory and experience upon which men may draw in ways not recognized by Science; whether at death each of us is wholly exterminated; whether ghost stories are founded only on illusion and other forms of error.

There is in all lands an immense amount of eager questioning about such matters; immense amounts of time and energy are given to ineffective efforts to obtain more light on such questions. And unfortunately there is a multitude of persons who for the sake of filthy lucre take advantage of these eager desires, these strong emotional needs, and of the prevailing lack of sure knowledge, to falsify, obscure and fabricate the evidence.

It is perhaps this last aspect of the present situation which most urgently calls for action of the Universities. In spite of the immense and growing prestige of Science and its steady and scornful negative to all such questioning, the whole civilized world increasingly becomes the scene of a confused welter of amateur investigation, of conflicting opinions, of bitter controversies, of sects and schools and parties, each confidently asserting its own views and scornfully accusing the others of error, and of woeful blindness or wilful deception.

The negations of the scientific world are of little or no effect upon this chaos of conflicting beliefs and ardent desires. And so long as

Science stands apart, coldly refusing to take a hand in the game, refusing to take seriously the questions asked, refusing to bring to bear upon the many phenomena that keep alive these conflicts, these hopes, and these beliefs, its powerful, highly organized apparatus of investigation, its negations will continue to exert but little influence toward stilling the tempest.

Let me state the demand upon our Universities at its simplest and lowest. Let us suppose that we are firmly convinced that no positive knowledge is attainable, that the outcome of a sustained, organized, and co-operative attack upon the problems of Psychical Research, such as the Universities alone are capable of making, must lead to purely negative conclusions; I submit that, nevertheless, we ought to recognize such enquiry as a task which the present state of chaos in the public mind urgently requires of the Universities that they undertake and steadfastly pursue.

The situation, its needs and its demands on the Universities may be illustrated on a small clear-cut scale by one particular problem which has long been recognized as crucial in Psychical Research, namely the problem of telepathy. Does telepathy occur? That is to say—Do we, do minds, communicate with one another in any manner and degree otherwise than through the sense-organs and through the bodily organs of expression and the physical media which science recognizes?

Science asserts that no such communication occurs or can occur. Yet in all ages antecedent to our own, belief in such communication has been universal. And in our own sceptical age and community, such belief is still very general. It is held by all intelligent Christians; for it is implied in the practice of prayer and communion. A very large proportion of intelligent educated persons believe they have observed or experienced instances of such communication. In that highly educated, scientific and sceptical class, the medical men, it is I think true to say that about one in three believes that he has first-hand knowledge of indisputable instances of it. A careful, highly critical statistical survey of such sporadic instances, made by persons of the highest qualifications, has resulted in a strongly positive verdict. A number of carefully conducted attempts to obtain evidence of it under experimental laboratory conditions have given equally positive results. A number of men of great distinction and of the highest intellectual and moral qualifications have announced themselves as convinced, after due enquiry, of its occurrence. Yet, in

spite of all this, Science, especially Science as represented in the Universities, refuses to regard the question of its occurrence as one to be taken seriously, as one deserving of investigation. And why? Simply because we cannot at present see how such communication can take place.

Now, to deny that phenomena of a certain kind may occur on the ground that we cannot understand how they may be brought about, is very unsatisfactory even in the sphere of physical science. It is still more unsatisfactory and positively misleading in the biological sciences. And in relation to any events in which the human mind or personality plays a part, it is reprehensible and utterly inadmissible as a ground of denial or refusal of investigation.

What more suitable task for a research department of a University can be conceived than the task of investigating such a problem. The individual man of science may and does offer two valid excuses for ignoring this and other problems of Psychical Research. He may say—That is not my line, I have other things to do. Or he may say —I have tried and have had purely negative results. But our Universities as a group of national institutions cannot excuse themselves in this way. The signs of the times call aloud to them that they shall follow the courageous lead of Clark University, shall frankly acknowledge their responsibility and welcome Psychical Research to an honoured place within their gates. Nowhere else may we hope to find the calm critical temper of scientific enquiry sufficiently developed and sustained; to no other institutions or associations can we hopefully entrust the task of shedding the cold clear light of science upon this obscure and much troubled field of vague hopes and vaguer speculations.

In conclusion, greatly daring, I will venture to say a few words in reply to a question which I feel sure many of my hearers wish to put to me, the question, namely—In your opinion has Psychical Research hitherto achieved any positive results? I am not the sort of person who holds a great number of clear-cut positive and negative beliefs. I am rather a person of the kind that deals in probabilities and degrees of probability, recognizing that our best formulations are but relatively true, that human mind and speech are incapable of formulating absolute truths. Therefore I can attempt in all frankness only qualified answers. In my view the evidence for telepathy is very strong; and I foretell with considerable confidence that it will become stronger and stronger, the more we investigate and gather and

sift the evidence. In my opinion there has been gathered a very weighty mass of evidence indicating that human personality does not always at death wholly cease to be a source of influence upon the living. I am inclined to regard as part of this evidence the occurrence of ghostly apparitions; for it seems to me that, in many of these experiences, there is something involved that we do not at all understand, some causal factor or influence other than disorder within the mental processes of the percipient. I hold that a case has been made out for clairvoyance of such strength that further investigation is imperatively needed; and I would say the same of many of the alleged supernormal physical phenomena of mediumship. I am not convinced of the supernormality of any of these in any instance. But I do feel very strongly that the evidence for them is such that the scientific world is not justified in merely pooh-poohing it, but rather is called upon to seek out and investigate alleged cases with the utmost care and impartiality.

To some of you this confession will seem to make extravagant claims for Psychical Research; to others it will seem that I am quite unduly sceptical. Such wide differences of view will continue to divide us until the Universities shall have brought order, system, and co-operative effort into the domain of Psychical Research.

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CHAPTER VIII

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND PHILOSOPHY

By Hans Driesch

1. Philosophy is *theory of order.* The word "theory" means systematic knowledge; the meaning of the word "order" is indefinable. As the word "systematic" implies order itself, we may call philosophy *the ordered knowledge about order;* thus we find order on the subjective and on the objective side.

The order with which philosophy has to deal is related to "everything." There is nothing that is not a possible object of philosophy. We, therefore, call the object of philosophy "the Universe," if we take this word in a very wide sense, embracing subjectivity as well as its counterpart.

Philosophy in the first place takes the Universe as *my* Universe, as related to the Ego, "my" Ego as possessed or *consciously* had by I—I do not say "me." Thus far philosophy is logic in the widest sense of the word. In the second place philosophy raises the question whether the word "in itself" or absolute has a meaning. It finds that it has; and for this reason a second part of philosophy, called *metaphysics,* is possible.

All so-called sciences, the word taken in the widest sense, are branches of philosophy which live, as it were, an independent life. Psychical Research is one of these branches, or, rather, the word "Psychical Research" or "Para- or Meta-psychology"—to introduce the terms used in Germany and France—denotes *several* branches of philosophy that have become independent to a certain extent. For, at the first glance at least, there is not one Parapsychology but there are several Parapsychologies, which may one day unite into one, there being several groups of psychic phenomena which, at first in any case, are as different from one another as, e. g., chemistry is from optics. Let me only mention telepathy and levitation, which in the first resort have certainly nothing in common except that they are "supernormal". It is our hope, of course, that there may ultimately be but one parapsychology, just as there is but one science of inanimate nature in our day, even chemistry and physics having come together.

2. We now approach our proper subject, the relation between Psychical Research and general philosophy, and it seems advisable to me to start from the former, Psychical Research, as we have seen, being a collection of rather different phenomena. To take it as one in the very beginning would mean to proceed in a dogmatic way. I know very well that there are certain hypotheses, the spiritualistic hypothesis for example, which allow of a great unification and simplification. But they are hypotheses at present, and the real philosopher must approach his subject in quite an unbiased way, looking merely upon the facts and trying to find a certain type of order in them. This has also been the method that has made biology an independent science, whilst all biologists who start from physical and chemical problems find nothing but that from which they have started in the organism again, and have blinded themselves, as it were, with regard to the problems of life as they are.

If now we look upon the various sides of Psychical Research in the way described, we realize at once that they show a relation to a great number of *different* problems of general philosophy, that the one thing belongs here and the other there, and that only ultimately, in the highest areas of philosophy, which means in that part where philosophy itself has reached its last very general principles, the philosophic importance of Parapsychology taken as one may be studied with some advantage.

3. The phenomena of telepathy, mind reading, and clairvoyance—(I intentionally use the old historical names to avoid misunderstanding, well aware of the fact that better names have been introduced, by M. Sudre for example)—all those phenomena stand in a very close and clear relation to the theory of *knowing* as developed by general philosophy.

For reasons of simplicity we now shall consider philosophy from the *metaphysical* point of view exclusively. That means that we shall start from the assumption that there *is* or *exists* something in an absolute way, and that "our" universe, or, in other terms, the content of our experience, is the picture or appearance of that which exists. In this sense we may be said to start from a "realistic" point of view. But the word realism means by no means materialism. For, first, even so-called matter is only appearance of something absolute to us, and secondly, there is certainly something else in the Absolute besides that which gives us the appearance of matter, this something manifesting itself already in the phenomena of orderly organic life.

From our metaphysical or, if you would prefer this, from our realistic point of view, now, all our knowing about particulars comes from two sources: there is a something which affects and there are minds which are affected. The result is a particular conscious possession on the part of the Ego in the form of appearance, the visual image of a flower, e. g., or even more, namely a flower regarded as a material so-called thing.

How is *knowing* possible? Metaphysics has only one way of interpretation left to itself, so it seems to me. It must look upon Reality as composed of subject-points and of objects, and must assume that a primordial relation, which we shall call *knowing potentia,* exists in an unexplainable original way between these two sides of Reality. For it must not be forgotten that the one who knows is also part of Reality. To argue in a different way would lead into nonsense, for it would mean to assume that there is Reality—and something besides.

We shall not discuss here the problem whether the mind, when affected, attributes something to the result of the affection, namely the image or thing as an appearance, from its own qualities or properties. This is the problem studied in the so-called theory of knowledge. In any case there are two sources of all knowledge; the affecting something and the affected mind, connected by the original or primordial relation, "knowing potentia"; and the result of the affection is actual knowing in the form of appearance.

In *normal* life, now, all affection leading to particular knowledge starts from that side of Reality which appears under the form of *matter,* and takes its way by stimulating that part of Reality which appears in the form of our *body* and in particular our *sense organs* and our *brain.*

This is a great miracle, and is by no means understood. Think of this: The ultimate result of the affection is a certain rearrangement of the electrons and protons in my brain—and then I "see" the flower "outside in space". This in fact is a real enigma and will be an enigma forever. Things would be much easier for us to understand if the electrons and protons of the brain would "see" *themselves,* but this, as you know, is not the case.

And now Psychical Research sets in; it tells us that in *telepathy* and *mind reading* we may not only "know" about things or material states, but also, and this in an immediate way, about the content of another mind's knowing, be it an actual Ego-knowing or merely a possible Ego-knowing, namely something that belongs to the sub-

or unconscious content of that mind. The latter is the case, wherever the mind reader reveals something of which the sitter is not actually thinking.

The simplest kind of mind reading is so-called exteriorization of sensibility or, in short, extrasensibility, so well described by *Dr. Pagenstecher* in Mexico: his medium when in the hypnotic state felt *his* pain whilst he was hurting himself by a needle, tasted the sugar *he* ate, etc.

All our normal knowledge about another mind's contents is reached in an indirect way; we see and hear that the other being moves and speaks, and then infer that his mind is in a certain state. In the realm of psychic phenomena the indirect way is turned into a direct one. Sense organs and brain are excluded. The knowing goes from subject to subject immediately; the relation "knowing potentia," therefore, must have existed also between them.

I know well that there are some psychic researchers who try to explain telepathy and mind reading by means of a so-called radiation of a physical character, starting from one brain and affecting the other. But I have shown already in my London address that this hypothesis is absolutely impossible. Only with regard to extrasensibility this hypothesis *might* perhaps be applied, because in this case the same relation between the state of the brain and sensation may exist in the agent and the percipient. But this is excluded in all complicated cases of telepathy; and for this reason the theory of physical radiation is not even probable with regard to those simple cases.

This, then, is the new statement which the first part of Parapsychology attributes to the theory of knowing: the relation of *knowing potentia* exists also among subjects, and not between subjects and the object side of Reality exclusively; and it may be filled with content along those new and abnormal lines.

And this seems to show that all subjects are One in some last resort.

The phenomena of so-called dissociation of personality tend already in this direction: there is one mind, but two or more Egos are implanted upon it, knowing about one another's contents as if they were strangers. One Ego knows here in a form as if it knew about the knowing of somebody else. And the same is true in dramatic dreams.

I may also refer to certain embryological experiments, which I have carried out myself many years ago. If you separate the cleavage cells of an embryo from one another, say in the four-cell stage, you get as many *complete* organisms as you have isolated cells. And two eggs may be forced to form one giant organism together. Instead of the One the many; instead of the many the One.

Does it not seem as if the "many" were all united *in* the "One" in the last resort, and might not this viewpoint be applied to our first class of psychic phenomena?

4. So-called clairvoyance is much more difficult to approach than telepathy and mind reading are, and in particular so when what is usually called *Psychometry* is in question, which means when an object given into the hands of a medium reveals its whole past history to the psychic person.

Three different forms of clairvoyance must be distinguished: clairvoyance into actual material conditions or states at a spatial distance or of microscopical dimensions, clairvoyance into the past, and, finally, clairvoyance into the future, i.e., premonition or prophecy. At first we shall only consider the two first of these three species of clairvoyance.

Very simple cases of clairvoyance are given if a Psychic knows the chemical nature of some substance which is prevented from stimulating his sense organs. These cases, as described by Chowrin for instance, must, of course, not be confused with extrasensibility as described above. In most cases it is not very easy to exclude mind reading, of course. In the case of Swedenborg, who "saw" the fire at Stockholm and the moment and locality of its being stopped, pure clairvoyance is probable, as it is in many other cases, the phenomena of the so-called *divining rod* belonging most probably also to this field of phenomena.

Let me shortly refer to the experiments carried out with Mr. Kahn in the *Institute Metapsychique* at Paris: Kahn "reads" folded letters without touching them. Here also telepathic influences are very improbable, whilst in some of the performances of *M. Forthuny* their possibility cannot be excluded definitively. The performances of *M. Forthuny,* part of which I have personally seen, are extremely impressive. Psychometry may be implied here. For even if we cannot exclude telepathy and mind reading in a decided manner, it re-

mains true that he is in immediate contact with a certain object, which in this case is a human person.

How may we understand clairvoyance, that is, how may we relate it to a class of facts already known? For this is the usual meaning of the word "understanding". If we put aside the spiritualistic hypothesis at first, only one possibility of understanding is left to us, so it seems to me, namely, that the subconscious Ego is *omniscient* to a certain degree, as Leibnitz believed his monads to be, and that in certain persons, called mediums, parts of the total knowledge about the universe transcend the threshold of consciousness. "Why, then, are we not all actually omniscient?" so you will ask. And the only possible answer to this question may be, that we are not because it would make us unfit for life; we should be confused by knowing too much. We must know only what is important for us in each moment. This is an idea brought forward already by *Bergson*. The whole matter is very unsatisfactory, and I therefore should not like to deal with it again and so merely refer to my London address.

5. But let me say something on that strange fact called *psychometry,* which I have discussed in my London address but very shortly. Here also we shall at first exclude all spiritualism. If we do, then, so it seems to me, the only way open to us is to assume that every object in the Universe is impressed in a certain way by its own past history, and in particular so, but not exclusively, if this past history relates to human beings. The object, a knife or a ring for example, is a material thing. Is for that reason its being impressed of a physical kind? In other words, is there something in the *material conditions* of the object that may reveal its history? This is hardly thinkable, for it is the chief characteristic of non-living nature that it only *is* at the present moment *what it is,* namely: a particular complex of protons and electrons.

We may try to apply a more complicated hypothesis. Let us assume that, by the aid of the object, the clairvoyant is brought into connection with some other living mind and is now performing mind reading of the well-known type. But should we be able to understand this connecting role of the object without coming back to some sort of physical impression upon it, which, we have said, is quite unacceptable? And in a good many cases—in the famous experiments of Dr. Pagenstecher, for instance—the person, in whose mind

the medium might be supposed to read, is dead. And we disregard spiritualism at present.

I, therefore, must confess that I find it absolutely impossible to offer you any psychometrical theory on the grounds upon which we are moving *at present*. Clairvoyance without psychometry *may* at least be related to a certain philosophical doctrine, namely that established by Leibnitz, though, of course, this is also a very vague consideration. But the role of the object, the *non-living* object, in psychometry is the great enigma to us. If we consider this role as a direct and immediate one, then there must be something "on" the object which we are absolutely unable to understand, and if we regard the object as a mere vehicle, destined to connect the medium's mind with some other mind, it ultimately comes to the same, quite apart from the question that a good many of these minds are dead. You might say perhaps that the mere being seen or touched of the object on the part of the medium enables the medium to come into direct connection with some other mind; but even then the question arises as to how it comes that just this object is able to play this role. Again there must be something "on" it which we don't understand.

Let me say one word more about the impossibility of any "radiation" theory in connection with clairvoyance in general. That such a theory is impossible with respect to mind reading and telepathy, I have shown in my London address and also shortly mentioned above. This theory formed on the analogy of tuning forks, is impossible here as, first, it rests upon the impossible theory of a psycho-mechanical so-called parallelism, and as, secondly, it is obliged to assume that the conscious experiences of the agent and the percipient are *exactly the same,* which is certainly not the case. With regard to clairvoyance the radiation theory is quite impossible in the case of reading a letter *which is folded.* The percipient knows about the *meaning* of the letter, not about its visual image, which, whenever the letter is folded, is a very complicated and chaotic one.

Other difficulties of the radiation theory have been very successfully explained by Tischner. And now radiation would not even suffice for an explanation of psychometry!

Clairvoyance into microscopic dimensions, as discovered by *Wasielewski,* might be explained by some sort of hyperaesthesia. But I do not say that it must.

6. Premonition or prophecy is absolutely ununderstandable. For if we say that time is nothing but a form of human experience, and that that which appears to us in time is timeless in the last resort, this is not much more than a playing with words. *Osty* is of the opinion that premonitions which refer to a human being's fate may often be reduced to mind reading in the Subconscious. This is certainly true, as far as no accidents from without are concerned. And we may add that the effects of clairvoyance may also sometimes be taken for premonition: the medium may say that somebody "will" arrive, as it sees him already walking along the street. But a good many cases of premonition, so it seems to me, cannot be reduced to other classes of abnormalities in any way. Supposed, of course, that they are quite certain. But ununderstandable as they may be, all premonitions refer quite directly to the great philosophical problem of *freedom* and of free will in particular, and are, in any case, very important for us in this respect.

Whoever accepts premonition as a fact cannot accept freedom in its strict sense, that is in the sense of indeterminism, at the same time. Freedom would make abnormal premonition just as impossible as normal calculation of any sort. For the chain of causal continuity is broken by freedom. One way, however, seems to be left: you might say that premonition may go together with freedom if it only refers to possibilities, if it says nothing but "this fact will happen *unless* free will interferes." For we know that the *contents* of willing present themselves to an Ego in a determined way, and that his "free" action might only refer to a saying "yes" or "no" to these contents. But even then a great difficulty presents itself, as already *one single* free act would change the course of the *whole* universe in an unpredictable way. Therefore premonition together with freedom would be a matter of an enormous improbability and uncertainty, unless we assume that "free" acts are extremely rare. Better perhaps to reverse the matter and to say simply: whoever accepts premonition cannot accept freedom. Here we have found a point where Psychical Research is playing quite a decisive role with regard to Philosophy.

Personally I should like to leave the question open until more cases of premonition have become known.

7. The physical phenomena of Psychical Research, telekinesis, levitation, materialization, and the like, have been met by much more

mental resistance among both scientists and laymen than the psychical phenomena have. Even those who tell us a good many stories about telepathy themselves may deny even the possibility of paraphysics. And yet it is here that Parapsychology is in closer connection with well established and well known facts of science than any where else. I may even go as far as to say: modern biology *is* already "psychical research", along the physical side, itself.

The fundamental feature of all physical paraphenomena is this, that mind is an agent able to promote material events, the word "mind" being taken here in a very wide sense, including the Unconscious and the Subconscious.

Let us begin by enumerating all cases in which a causal relation between mind and material phenomena is already well known along so-called *normal* lines.

In the *first* place there is so-called *will* in its relations to the movements of my limbs, my tongue, etc. I "will", and something material happens. This alone is the correct formula, for "I" am not "doing" anything, as was already seen by Hume; except perhaps that "I" may stop the doing on the part of the unconscious part of my mind, as you must say if you are inclined to accept freedom. But even then the performance of moving my arm or, in speaking, my tongue and lips is done by the mind as far as it is unconscious. And "I" do not even known how that is done, "stimulating my motor nerves", "contracting my muscles", etc.; nay, as a layman in the field of physiology and anatomy, I do not even know that all these things exist! My mind knows them, and my mind also knows how to use them in order to reach a certain end which alone is "willed" by the Ego.

Secondly, there is the psychical influence upon the secretion of the glands of the body, so well established by the Russian physiologist *Pawlow* in his studies on "psychical secretion". A smell of food makes the glands of the digestive tract secrete, in man as well as in the dog. This is not "willed" at all, a mere sensation or even imagination is concerned here. But, on the other hand, the event is not of the kind of an innate reflex. It rests upon a learning on the part of the Unconscious in the way of association; and it is also subjected to the law of association in so far as a dog, for instance, may be brought to the process of secretion by merely hearing a specific tune which had always been presented to him when he got his food.

In the *third* place there are the physical effects of suggestion and

autosuggestion in the hypnotic or even in the waking state. All of you know that in this way the bleeding of wounds may be stopped, that so-called "colds" may be prevented or at least reduced to a minimum, and that even, what is more, inflammations may be provoked by, say, the touching of the skin by quite an ordinary piece of metal, which is only "said" to be hot. And there are many other phenomena of a similar kind.

Last, but not least, there is the modern aspect of general biology as a whole. This aspect is becoming vitalistic more and more, and I myself may claim to have played a certain part in this movement by my own biological theories. These theories were most decidedly based upon quite specific facts and are by no means lofty speculations. Certain facts in the field of morphogenesis, embryology as well as regeneration, *can* simply not be understood on a so-called mechanistic foundation, which means on the assumption of a specific given structure including nothing but the dynamic agents of physics and chemistry. The development of complete organisms out of isolated cleavage cells belongs here, and a good many other things. And the unconscious non-mechanical factor at work in these cases may certainly be called "mind" in the widest sense of the word, though it is, of course, by no means the so-called "Ego".

8. There are, then, non-mechanical mindlike agents which affect matter and are affected by it. And, in order to explain the so-called physical phenomena of parapsychology, we have to do nothing but to enlarge the area of validity of known agents, which means to assume that those non-mechanical agents are able to do still a good deal more than we are normally acquainted with. They are not only able to affect physiological processes, to direct and regulate the genesis of the normal form, they may also provoke *abnormal structures* under the guidance of imagination. This is what may be called an *enlarged Couéism* but nothing else.

Let us keep well in mind that the action of what I have called *Entelechy* in the field of biology proper does not "create" matter but is only *ordering* pre-existing matter. And it is only this action of ordering, of directing which we have to assume also in parapsychology, matter being everywhere. Mere assimilation, then, would be the most simple instance of a long series of events of which so-called materialization would be the end.

All this, of course, is only valid in those cases where physical para-

phenomena are happening in *continuity* with a medium's body. Continuous phenomena, to put it shortly, are in fact nothing but an enlarged vitalism. As soon as we agree that there are also discontinuous phenomena, so-called spook, apport, etc., our theory fails and we are moving upon an absolutely unknown field.

But would it not be very narrow-minded to suppose that all "fields" of reality must be known to us today, and that there is nothing of an *absolutely* new character?

Facts are always the first thing in science. And a man who tells us that certain facts "have never occurred and will never occur"—as a very well known personality verbally did—is not a great critic, but a negative dogmatist, very much resembling that famous professor of physics who "proved" the impossibility of the railroad.

9. Discontinuous phenomena, in fact, are just as little understandable at present as psychometrical phenomena are, at least on non-spiritualistic grounds. It even seems to me as if there were a certain sort of relationship between both classes of phenomena, and this brings me back once more to psychometry itself. In *psychometry,* as we know, there must be something unknown *on* a given material object, be it in an independent way or because this object is still in some unknown actual relation to some mind. In discontinuous physical paraphenomena a certain amount of matter, which does not stand in any perceivable continuity with a living body, must nevertheless be in some sort of relation to it, and, in this respect, may also be considered as having something *on* itself.

Perhaps we may say that in both cases there is still an actual continuity, absolutely unperceivable to ourselves, and in this way we should avoid the action at a distance. The something which is "on" a material object in psychometry would in this case be itself some sort of materialized structure, perceivable only to those rare persons which we call mediums, just as many phantoms are said to be only perceivable to certain very exceptional persons.

But, of course, this assumption of an unperceivable connection in the realm of those phenomena, which are de facto, i. e. as far as we know, discontinuous, is a mere hypothesis, and the only advantage it has, so it seems to me, is that it brings these phenomena together with psychometry under one heading. Psychometrical objects would themselves be "spook"-objects to a certain extent.

But, in a certain very wide sense, embryology and regeneration, from the vitalistic point of view at least, are already "spook," all

questions of distance being quite evidently only questions of the second order.

Only on the assumption that discontinuous phenomena are not what they seem to be in the last resort is a certain sort of understanding possible here. That means that only on this assumption discontinuous phenomena also would belong to the realm of an enlarged Couéism and vitalism. If you reject this assumption, "understanding" becomes quite impossible. And it seems also to be in favor of our theory that some light falls from it upon psychometry, as we have said, and that this strange phenomenon acquires at least some sort of hypothetic elucidation.

Let me still say some words on psychical "voices" and "lights" though only in the form of an additional note. If we regard these voices as genuine and not as performed by the subconscious side of the medium, we, of course, have to classify them together with materializations. For they are affections of matter on the medium's part, and it means but a slight difference in the last resort whether matter is ordered into specific form or into a specific combination of rhythmical movements.

10. We now approach the discussion of a particular parapsychological hypothesis which so far, quite intentionally, has not been taken into consideration, in order not to burden Psychical Research from the beginning with a theory which is not its prerequisite by itself, namely, *Spiritualism*.

For Spiritualism is not the same as Parapsychology, but is a particular hypothesis within its realm, in exactly the same way as the theory of natural selection is a particular hypothesis in the realm of the general theory of evolution. Spiritualism is, however, a logically legitimate hypothesis, i.e. a hypothesis which is free from any contradiction in itself.

The hypothesis of Spiritualism may be understood in two various forms, a general and a more specified one. In its general form Spiritualism merely assumes that there is *some* mental entity embracing the remains of formerly living minds after their so-called death, leaving open the question whether this mental entity is split off into persons or not, and, if it is, whether these persons correspond to the original persons one by one. In its more specified and, so to speak, popular form, spiritualism says that the personal minds *qua* personal minds survive death in some unknown form of existence.

It now cannot be denied that there are some facts in Parapsy-

chology which are able to make the spiritualistic hypothesis materially, and not merely logically, possible and perhaps even probable to a certain extent, this hypothesis, at first, being taken in a very general sense.

11. Let me begin the discussion by enumerating these facts: in the *first* place there is the *selective* character of mind reading, so often experienced in the phenomena shown by Mrs. Piper and Mrs. Leonhard. The medium "reads" something out of this mind and something out of that, and yet it puts all the results of its reading together into the characteristics of *one* personality that is dead at the time of the sitting. This feature, of course, *may* be explained on the assumption that the medium is guided in its selection by that personality *qua* still existing. It *may* however be explained also by assuming that the medium is at first getting a general type of the person in question by a mind reading in one of the sitters, and that the selective mind reading that follows is under the guidance of the subconscious idea of the medium, gained in the way described. In this case the guiding personality would merely have an existence in the medium's mind.

The phenomena which have been called *the classics* by British authors belong here, too, and need no mentioning under a particular heading. For to have spoken Latin or Greek belongs to the characteristics of a personality.

In the *second* place there are the *cross correspondences,* though these also, of course, *may* be explained by a mind reading among various mediums at a long distance.

So much for the topics which *might* be brought forward in favor of spiritualism and which have already been mentioned in my London address. But there is still something more, so it seems to me now.

In the *third* place the *book and newspaper tests,* so well elaborated by the British S. P. R. They would belong to clairvoyance and not to mind reading or telepathy, if they are taken as "animistic" phenomena. But it is hardly imaginable how the medium itself should be able to discover a passage in any book, unknown to it so far, that relates to a particular fact with regard to a sitter. A spirit that has known the book in his life might do it, of course. We do not know what he "might" do, in any case. But if he exists, it would not seem to be too much to attribute to him this faculty.

In the *fourth* place there is a certain fact in favor of spiritualism, the mention of which may surprise you, and this is the *very limited faculty* of all mediums. They know a good deal in an abnormal way,

that is true. But they are by no means omniscient. But does not this fact stand in direct opposition to spiritualism?—so I hear you saying. I answer: no, not at all. For it is rather hard to understand why the faculty of a psychic person, that once is in possession of supernormal power, should be as limited as it actually is. Whilst if we assume a formerly living personality to be the real agent upon the scene, we should quite well be able to understand his limitations. The more so, if we apply to the second, particular form of spiritualism, granting the endurance of the mental personality qua personality beyond the grave. For in this case the "spirit" might be bound to his former experiences, and these, of course, are very limited, as they are in each of us. I must confess that this argument seems to me to be very impressive, in particular if taken together with the first, selective mind reading. It *might,* however, be also possible in some cases to explain the limitation of knowledge on the part of the medium by the limited experiences of the sitters. But there are instances, in the book tests for example, in which there is limitation in fields where mind reading does not seem to come into account.

In the *fifth* place, we only raise a question: Are there cases in which a medium gave evidence of facts known to absolutely *not one* living person? I confess that I am not quite convinced of the reality of such facts though, of course, I do by no means deny it *a priori.* But if such cases existed, you *might,* of course, recur to psychometry, for there are certainly some objects which have been in connection with a person who is now dead. This would, however, be a psychometry at distance.

Psychometry itself is now to take the *sixth* place in our enumeration. We have said on a former occasion that psychometry might perhaps be understood on the assumption that the psychometric object has something "on" itself that connects it with a mind and that, in this way, the object serves to connect two minds with one another and to allow mind reading on the part of the medium. But, so we were obliged to add, the psychometric medium very often seems to read in a mind that does not exist any more. What, then, about "reading"? On the spiritualistic hypothesis that mind *would* exist—in the case of Dr. Pagenstecher's experiment for instance. Living mind or "dead" mind, that would no longer make any difference. Uniformity in explanation would be reached.

Finally let me but shortly mention all physical phenomena occurring *without* continuity with a medium's body, all kinds of spooks,

phantoms, and the like. Here we meet the very roots of popular spiritualism and, unfortunately, at the same time very unsolid ground. Things, however, begin to clear up.[1]

12. All phenomena mentioned so far would be explained on *one and the same* foundation as soon as we would be inclined to accept spiritualism, and this is the great advantage of this hypothesis. This advantage, however, is not sufficient, so it seems to me, to accept it in a definite way. For, on the one hand, other kinds of explanation, however artificial they may be, are still possible, and, on the other hand, it has always been regarded as a sound principle of research not to introduce new *entia praeter necessitatem,* which means to introduce them only if *no* other way is left. And the spirit would certainly be a new *ens,* even if we endow him only with superhuman and not with transhuman faculties.

Prophecy, of course, would remain unexplained on the foundation of such a sort of spiritualism also, unless we are inclined to attribute to the spirit faculties of an absolutely unknown kind.

Let me once more come back to the two kinds of spiritualism mentioned above, one of them very general and indefinite, the other referring to personal immortality in the popular sense. *William James* was inclined to the first form of spiritualism in a certain way: a foreign personality seemed to be at work in the Piper phenomena, but he was not sure that this was just the personality of his friend Hodgson. The Italian parapsychologist *McKenzie* has advocated a similar view, assuming that there is a general Supermind into which the individual minds are lost after death, but out of which new constellations of the character of a "person" might emerge under certain conditions for a limited time. The relations between Supermind and personal minds would then be of the same kind as those between one mind and various Egos in the case of so-called dissociation.

Oesterreich has justly said that we should never be able to decide between the two forms of spiritualism, even if we accepted it as a whole. And yet, so I think, one of the two forms of spiritualism may perhaps appear to be more probable than the other, when our positive knowledge will be more advanced than it is today.

So much about the spiritualistic hypothesis. Animistic hypotheses, of course, are not abolished by it, for it would certainly be very unwise to refer to a disincarnate being in the face of every psychic phe-

[1]Comp. Bulletin II (Walter F. Prince), published by the Boston S. P. R.

nomenon. But might it not be that incarnate and disincarnate spirits are ultimately *one* class of beings, and that, in this way, all mental phenomena of Parapsychology might be reading in "some mind" in the last resort? This, so it seems to me, has been Frederic Myers' opinion. It may be true. If it were, a new and particular form of Spiritualism would be established.

13. Facts are needed in the first place, facts, and facts again. We must be very careful not to be too rash. Make hypotheses, as many as you like, but never forget that they are mere working hypotheses, destined to be thrown away whenever they do not stand any fact.

The main thing for Psychical Research, in my opinion, is to get a more direct control with regard to conditions of experiment. The best thing, of course, would be if we could get mediumship as a whole into our hands, which means if we could make every human being a "medium" whenever we like. This is not at all out of the realm of probabilities. For it is not very probable that the media are a particular species of human beings. *Every* man is probably a potential medium, but we do not yet know the conditions under which his potencies become actualities. We shall know this one day, so I hope, and it seems, e. g., as if chemical substances might have the faculty of provoking mediumship. What we may *try* now is to have control of the outer conditions of experiment *to any extent we like.* Darkness, e. g., is a great handicap in all physical experiments, for it always leaves room for scepticism. The medium or the "spirit", if there is any, tells us that there *must* be darkness. Well, tell the medium that you don't believe that, and *try* the matter at least in a dim red light. And if this goes well, suggest to the medium, in the Couéistic fashion, that everything *will* now go perfectly well in ordinary light also. I was told by a member of the British committee that investigated Eusapia Palladino at Naples that the best results were got one day at noon in a very good light. This ought to encourage us not to become the absolute slaves of the medium or the "spirit". We must try to make the medium our object, and not be his. As soon as we shall have reached the new standard of conditions and controls just mentioned scepticism will become quite impossible. For it would be ridiculous, as a good deal of it is now.

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CHAPTER IX

IS PSYCHICAL RESEARCH WORTH WHILE?

By Walter Franklin Prince

No cautious and intelligent person can or should be convinced by testimony that supernormal phenomena exist except on the basis of a great many case reports, nor can he take into consideration any case report which is not full, detailed and critical in the extreme. Therefore it would be quite hopeless for me to attempt in the limits of one lecture, to convince anyone by citing cases. I shall occasionally refer to one by way of illustration, and toward the close I may present one or two case sketches with the understanding that they are only "thumb-nail" sketches and that the full reports are available in print.

In the main what I have to say will constitute a study in trends and reactions. What were the causes which led to the foundation of Societies for Psychical Research? What has been the effect of inspection and study upon the minds of persons apparently well qualified? Why is it that after nearly half a century Psychical Research Societies are still in existence and even multiplying? Have the methods of psychical researchers, to outward appearances, been cautious, logical and painstaking, or otherwise? How far has earnest and protracted psychical research, deserving of the name, resulted in making thorough skeptics? How far have opponents shown themselves qualified by experience or by study? On which side, among the most scientific leaders, is there the greater appearance of dealing with facts rather than dogmas, with logic rather than appeals to authority? What are some of the arguments against psychical research, and to what extent are other branches of scientific inquiry also liable to the weight of them? Is psychical research becoming more or less formidable with the passage of time? Are there sets of facts on which experienced researchers are practically agreed? If there are sets upon which they differ greatly, how is this to be explained? Has psychical research made, aside from the category of the supernormal, any worthy contributions to knowledge? In the main this paper is, though I dislike the term, a study in behaviorism as related to psychical research.

1. Phenomena of the same nature as those which now form the subject-matter of psychical research are witnessed to from the first records of the human race, apparently in all lands. They are in our Bible and other bibles. They are in ancient Roman histories and biographies. They are in the writings of the Christian Fathers, and so on to our day. Many of them are given at second-hand, many are doubtless distorted and curiously interpreted in the telling, yet the narratives witness to human belief in actual experiences. Oddly, we sometimes hear it said as a taunt that such beliefs were common in ancient times and are common among aborigines, which is exactly what we should expect would be the case if the phenomena to which they relate, correctly described, are integral to the human race.

2. Such testimonies may be found far more frequently in our own vaunted period of enlightenment than in any former period, now that effort is being made to collect them and it is comparatively an age of recording. They are not confined to the ignorant or the credulous, but are shared by the greatest intellects. Nor do they shun the lives of scientifically inclined men, though these tend to discourage them, discount them, and much less frequently to record than tell them to intimates.

I have noticed that if a small group of intelligent men, not supposed to be impressed by psychical research, get together and such matters are mentioned, and all feel that they are in safe and sane company, usually about half of them begin to relate exceptions. That is to say, man after man opens a little residual closet and takes out some incident which happened to him or to some member of his family, or to some friend whom he trusts, and which he thinks odd and extremely puzzling. I made a remark of this kind once when with six men of high standing in various professions. No sooner had I ceased speaking when a physicist whose name is known over the world told of something which happened to him when a young man—how he heard his father's voice pronouncing his name at the very hour, as it afterward proved, when his father died, hundreds of miles away. He ended: "That is something I never could understand." I do not think the physicist would forgive me if I revealed his name. Then, to my equal surprise, a very prominent physician, whose name is familiar to the profession all over the country, told stories of what seemed like telepathy in his own family. A noted editor and a well-known lawyer followed suit.

3. There is a large degree of homogeneity in the stories ancient,

mediaeval and modern, subject, however, to at least two disturbances even when told at first-hand. (1) Superadded interpretation, as when Luther said that he saw the devil, whereas had he lived in the 20th century he would have said he saw the apparition of a man, the notion that it was the devil being his interpretative addition. (2) Modification by the subconsciousness under the influence of the zeitgeist and the individual composite. As among the waving grass-blades shimmering in the morning light a pious child would be more likely to experience the illusion of a winged angel, and an ardent youth the illusion of a dancing girl, so, admitting that there are veridical apparitions, they are probably subject to modification by that strange mechanism, the mind, which at the same time is acted upon and acts upon itself. Thus, if one saw a vision of his deceased mother gazing pityingly upon him, a few moments after, as it proved, his far-distant father died, we might well, on the background of many similar cases, suspect a supernormal stimulus, but likewise suspect an intermixing memory stimulus to account for her being dressed in the familiar garb of years gone by.

Nevertheless, many of the ancient and mediaeval stories strikingly resemble the recorded and authenticated ones of our own time. Unbecoming as they may be in an age of science, dreams more complexly coincident with uninferrible events of the near future than any prophetic dreams in the Bible have been proved to occur in our generation. Lest some of my hearers should gaspingly turn for relief to Royce's theory of pseudo-memories, I add that I refer to dreams actually related to intelligent witnesses before the astoundingly coinciding events occurred. The raps which I studied in my own home, in my office and in the office of a New York physician lead back to the startling thumps which Luther heard in his monastery and in Wartburg Castle. The Apostle Peter's becoming aware of the messengers from Cornelius before they were in sight is analogous with the authenticated recent case of the lady who saw while awake a vision of a man of whom for a long time she had heard nothing, with his face tied up in a bandage, at the hour when her husband at a distance beheld with astonishment this man's face so bandaged as he lay in his coffin. The double incident of Peter and Cornelius is of a type with the recent authentic case of a New Jersey woman of culture who had a waking vision of her dead father and living foster-brother, which she immediately told to persons whose testimonies I have, it afterwards proving that at that hour her brother on a war ship in the North Sea,

as a torpedo was approaching, saw the apparition of his foster-father on the deck beside him. These were not beliefs, they were actual experiences, strangely coinciding subjective facts, which no so-called "logic of science" can annihilate.

4. The foregoing considerations determined a group of English university men 44 years ago to found a society for the investigation of such alleged incidents. One of the prime movers, Professor Henry Sidgwick, who has been called the "most incorrigible skeptic in England," nevertheless agreed that it was the scandal of science that it had never more than sneered at all this testimony of the ages, that it made no effort finally to determine whether there is or is not any fire back of so much smoke. At least it would be worth while as a study of folk lore and of psychology, and would, if all was found illusory, have the effect of discouraging an epidemic which, if it begins in the slums of human mentality, frequently enters the palaces thereof.

5. Forty-four years have passed since the Society for Psychical Research was founded. Several other worthy organizations have in the meantime arisen to engage in the same inquiry, not to give heed to less respectable ones. Some of the most eminent scientists on earth have taken part, some of the most brilliant intellects, some most familiar not only with pathological mentality, but also with the occasional queer mechanisms of the normal mind, not omitting some expertly conversant with the methodology of fraud in this field. If, after all, comparatively few with such varieties and combinations of equipment lent themselves to the work, it really seems as if there were enough and the time elapsed enough to have already proved to approximate certainty that only superstition and credulity, illusion and delusion, infantilism and mental aberration underlie these million stories, if such indeed is the case. But the 44 years have not had this result. If I could go no farther, this would be a striking announcement. After thousands of years science at last turned its critical eye upon the matter, men of learning, intellectuality, logic and familiarity with critical procedure took hold, some of them with the full expectation of showing that the whole class of beliefs was without rational foundation, and—they have not succeeded.

6. More than this, a number of species of claims formerly almost universally derided by intellectuals so far as their *public announcements* were concerned, have been placed upon a firmer basis than ever before. And, *mirabile dictu!* a not inconsiderable number of

eminent scientists, men of brilliant intellects, adepts in logic and critical procedure, trained detectives in the jungle of human illusion and delusion, have actually become convinced on the evidence, that more or less types of supernormal claims are valid. It would appear that, if it was worth while in 1882 to begin an organized attempt to study the phenomena alleged, there is now ten times the motive to continue that study.

7. Let us not lose sight of the significance of the fact that many of these convinced men started their quest as materialists, and that the training and prepossessions of the scientific fraternity were adverse to the claims under consideration. And yet as honest analyzers and reporters of the facts they have declared their conviction that certain species of hitherto discredited claims are justified.

To cite one example, if any man was fitted by mental constitution and by equipment to build a road clear across the bog, assuming that the whole region of psychical research is a bog, Dr. Richard Hodgson, the academic product of two great universities, lecturer in one of them, seemed to be the man. Of keen and logical intellect, author of historic exposures of fraud, co-author of the finest demonstration of the possibilities of mal-observation and memory aberration in existence, unusually versed in the methodology of fraud and deception, he was regarded as the arch skeptic, and his appointment to the head of Psychical Research in this country was hailed by its opponents with approval. After years of study, particularly with Mrs. Piper, he became convinced that several types of mental supernormal claims were valid, and that certain phenomena were best explained by the spiritistic hypothesis. Therefore it is now dogmatically asserted that he was all the while dominated by the "will to believe," although for years manifesting the very opposite symptoms.

8. As intimated, the favorite jeer of scientific opponents is that such men as Lodge, Barrett, Crookes, Myers, Hodgson and Hyslop, were victims of a "will to believe." If uttered in good faith this cry is simply a tabloid of desperate superstition,—superstition because it is a belief irrationally grounded and desperate because beyond it is the deep sea of utter inability to explain the conviction of those qualified men who have most laboriously and protractedly studied the phenomena, without admitting that they probably obtained some respectable evidence. Of course no man is absolutely without bias, and it is possible that some man even of the calibre of those I have named was not inwardly displeased to find evidence in favor of super-

normal claims, exactly as it is very possible that a scientific opponent allows the scales of his thinking on the subject to be weighted by a will to disbelieve. But prior to his study of the evidence the man with the hypothetical will to believe may have seemed to keep it in good subjection. If he secretly longed to live after bodily death, in some cases he neither went to church nor read nor conversed much on religion. It really looks as though, with most men, actual present advantages rather than those of a hypothetical future world are more influential. We don't know what inner craving for continuance a given psychical researcher may have had (for aught I know, most scientific men, *pro* and *con,* if their lids could be taken off, would reveal at least a vestige of such an instinctive craving, and if so the fact would be to a degree evidential) but we do know, and he knew, that his reputation for sanity and judgment, that his scientific standing, that his very job, would be less secure if he announced that a claim to the supernormal was established. It is certain that such motives to create a will to disbelieve would press upon him as they do on those who announce themselves as opposed, while the slogan that a Lodge or a Hodgson is actuated by a will to believe is purely a dogma, as fully as that of the philosopher's stone. But, equally enamored of this comforting dogma and of the Freudian technique, an eminent gentleman undertook to reconstruct the biography of a living man, encouraged by lack of response from dead worthies subjected to a similar process. Sir Oliver Lodge, said he, is convinced of survival because he is getting to be an old man who doesn't wish to lapse from being, and because he wants to see again his son who was killed in the Great War. How evident that, instead of yielding to the logic of observed facts, Sir Oliver gravitated toward the fulfilment of his wishes! Only—Sir Oliver was not an old man when he arrived at his convictions, long before the war, and his son was yet a boy. But why should facts be allowed to spoil a fine theory?

9. For the most part all this talk about a "will to believe" is beside the mark and foolish. What if Columbus did have a will to believe that if he sailed westward far enough he would reach land—the essential thing is that he proved his belief correct. As Tyndall has told us, there comes a point in a man's investigation of an obscure phenomenon when he legitimately employs his "scientific imagination" to picture a cause or concurrence of causes which would satisfactorily explain the phenomenon. From the time that he has so framed his theory, and so long as it continues to form the most

economical and adequate solution, he can hardly help wishing that it may prove to be the true one. That must have been the case with Galileo, Kepler, Newton, Faraday, Darwin and all the rest. Who cares for that? The only question is—what evidence did they produce and what was their argument founded thereon?

10. A man reaches his convictions in any one of three ways. (1) In the main by the intellectual route, through study and reasoning, or (2) partly by this route but also partly through his emotions, his prejudices and likings, or (3) mainly through these emotional byways. Whatever class he belongs to can be pretty well gauged by the way he writes or talks. It is certain that many advocates of supernormal phenomena and theories belong to the last class. Their reports of cases are full of leaks, their inductions are hasty and fragile, they rush to defend cases of another continent against the judgment of the actual and competent observers, their language is heated and hortatory, they display a degree of zeal becoming to an apostle but not to an investigator of facts. There are also the halfway class, those who have had and set forth some evidence, but mix with it so much indiscrimination, incaution and intemperate zeal as also to make them ineffectual except with the unthinking and as marks for their adversaries. Mesmer in his time announced a new and very important fact to the world, but in his ignorant zeal invested it with so much extravagent nonsense as to delay its scientific reception for half a century. Nevertheless it was the reproach of science that it turned away in disgust and did not go directly to the dust-heap and lay hold of the valuable thing therein hidden, as a similar course is a reproach to it today.

But there have been and are persons whose works show them to have been careful, intelligent and patient observers, experimenters, analyzers and synthesizers of evidence. Fully as much as Darwin or Huxley or Tyndall or Spencer, do such leaders minutely collect, examine, weigh and classify their facts. They are fully as conservative, paving their way as they go, their language is as temperate and they as seldom give vent to exclamations of impatience at the impudent and vacuous volubility of their critics. They set forth the facts and the conditions in detail, they dodge no difficulties, and calmly discuss the various possible theories to account for the facts. They have built up a precautionary methodology from which many a psychological laboratory, as Professor Schiller has shown,[1] might borrow

[1] *Proceedings* S. P. R., Part 35, pp. 361-364.

hints to make its inferential errors less frequent. Hence the spectacle of such men, standing up before a taunting scholastic majority and calmly announcing that they have reached, severally, one or another stage of conviction that supernormal facts actually exist, is a profoundly impressive one.

11. Now let us apply the same test, analysis of modes of discussion, to the physical scientists, psychologists, physicians and others who have written books and articles attacking the whole domain of Psychical Research, including telepathy. I make a statement which will seem incredible, but which defies confutation. Every one of them, by the application of the test is shown to belong, *when he enters the field of Psychical Research with general, hostile intent,*[2] to the third class, that composed of persons whose conclusions are actuated mainly by their emotions, by manifest bias and prejudice, rather than by calm reasoning on the basis of careful study; persons who *react irrationally to particular subjects which for some reason are obnoxious to them*, and evidence the fact by generalities, *a priori* assumptions, refusal to face squarely and discuss calmly main issues, attacks on men of straw, weird logic which they would deride were it employed in their own special field, indulgence in wild and unsupported hypotheses in regard to the intellects of all their opponents, exhibitions of ignorance of their subject matter by frequent blunders of fact, exclamations of disgust and sundry marks of emotionalism. So emphatically is this true that I wrote for a London magazine[3] an article exhibiting these

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[2]The reader is asked to take account of every word in this italicised passage. I do not accuse scientific men in general of being emotional or unfair, nor the particular men referred to of being so characterized in other fields than that of psychical research, nor even men who have written against the spiritistic theory, endeavoring to account for the facts by telepathy. Nor is my statement based upon conjecture. It is an induction drawn from actual survey of the books and articles which indiscriminately attack all alleged supernormal facts and theories. Most scientific men lack both interest and time to pay attention to psychical phenomena, and write little or nothing relating thereto. Such as do have the interest and time to study the facts tend to become impressed by them, and either to express to one or another degree their interest, or at least to refrain from disparagement. But a comparatively small number, to whom psychical research is as the traditional red rag to the bull, turn their attention to it mainly to collect material for polemical purposes, and betray the insufficiency of their acquaintance and their departure from the scientific spirit by the characteristics of their writing. It is solely the last class to which I refer in the text.

[3]*Psyche* for April, 1923, pp. 298-316.

traits in the printed output of fifteen prominent writers, under the title "The Enchanted Boundary." I am fairly familiar with the literature on this subject of the last 45 years, and have been searching in vain for a case where a hostile spear, however effective outside, did not turn to a reed when it crossed the border of this region of inquiry, and where this cannot easily be shown. No rejoinder came from one of my fifteen subjects of demonstration, because the facts were irrefutable when once pointed out. One could recite instances for hours; how opposers of psychical research pick out for attack incidents which the original reporters for honesty's sake did not omit but expressly stated were not evidential, while carefully avoiding the real evidence; how they mutilate and do malpractice on records they profess to summarize; how they ludicrously misconceive and misstate the problems and opinions of those whom they criticise; how in juvenile awe of scientific assumptions which are continually altering and enlarging they undertake to demolish facts by dogmatic pronunciamentos; how they boast of their unwillingness to get first hand knowledge by patient experiment, and betray their lack of acquaintance with the works of those who have done so by childish blunders of fact (I counted six in one short paragraph); how they sweep away hosts of authenticated actual cases by one oracular dictum as intelligent as that of the farmer who when he saw a giraffe said "There ain't no such animal;" how they betray emotional repulsion as in the case of the psychologist of whom Dr. Hyslop said that if he was so actuated he ought to join the Salvation Army.

Even Huxley lapsed from his logical rectitude when he said that the only good of a demonstration of "Spiritualism" was to furnish an argument against suicide. If he had heard some one in or out of Texas say that the only good of a demonstration that men are biologically related to apes is to furnish an argument *for* suicide, I can imagine his acid retort that facts do not pay heed to emotional repulsions. I myself have a decided prejudice against biting and stinging insects, and my feelings declare that my world shall not contain them, but now and then in my travels I am painfully reminded that it nevertheless does. Suppose it proved that all subconscious twaddle of a medium comes from Heaven and that the indications are that we all become idiotic when we reach that region, still facts would be facts, whether blissful or otherwise.

Think of Dr. Hyslop, who had his human subjects for experiment introduced after the psychic was in trance, had them sit behind her

and keep silent, reported every word, and even every time the pencil fell from the writing medium's hand, then think that a Doctor of Philosophy attempted to demolish him in a book which mutilated, distorted and misrepresented every incident which she professed to quote, without exception, and finally think that an eminent educator, not without interest to Clark University, was so unguarded *in this field* that in its preface he expressed the hope that the now forgotten book would prove to be "the turn of the tide!"

12. Or take my own case as that of one convinced of several types of supernormal phenomena, and supremely unconvinced of certain other claims. Put me under the microscope as the bug some people think I am. Reputed to be excessively cautious, and regarded by the Spiritualistic religious cult as a hard hearted skeptic; formerly thoroughly skeptical all along this line; always occupied during a curiously varied career, from the boyhood days when no mechanical or other puzzle was ever given up unsolved, in the analysis and resolution of one kind of a problem or another, in history, sociology, abnormal psychology, etc., up to Psychical Research; one to whom accuracy is a religion and minute analysis an obsession so that it is an agony to terminate the testing process and write a report; intolerably detailed in reporting and in presenting the subject in hand at every possible angle; alive by experience and study to the various pitfalls of illusion, delusion and deception—all this has made me a kind of a scrutinizing, analyzing and rationalizing monster, quite unpleasant to the tender-minded. For years I have been inviting any man in the world to face squarely such affirmative reports as I have been willing to make, and to discuss them fairly; to point out precautionary measures overlooked, serious flaws in scientific method and weaknesses in reasoning. Few have made any appearance of opposition, none has more than entered mere formal *a priori* objections or uttered a few oracular and evasive generalities.

Is this boasting? Not at all, the very point is that if so humble and plodding a student as myself, whose main intellectual merit leans to the side of a failing—that of being scared to death of being caught in an error—can present his facts in such a way that no one seriously attempts to refute them, how strong must be the case for Psychical Research! For years I have tried to find a man who would take any one of a number of reported cases in Psychic Research which I will name, and make a critical attack upon it as a whole, show that any of the necessary precautions were lacking, that the method of in-

vestigation was scientifically defective, that the reasoning from it was not sound. No one has done so, though one professor of psychology, at once my friend and my forensic opponent, is notably voluble on the subject. Several declared that they *could* do it. One promised that he *would* do it and was furnished with all the materials which after four years he has yet. I predict that on his death bed he will murmur: "I could have done it if I only had had time."

By the way, I think that my friend, the voluble professor of psychology, may have the Saul of Tarsus complex. You remember that Saul, knowing nothing in particular against the Christians, imagined that they were a bad lot, and having no official functions which required him to persecute them, went out of his way to obtain an official license to do so. We know he had listened to Stephen at the time of that martyr's execution, and it well may be that he became half convinced that the Christians were right. He verily thought, as he tells us, that he was doing God service by harrying them, and yet all the time it was probably a subconsciously initiated psychological defense against his own heretical tendencies. There is nothing in my friend the Professor's official functions which calls upon him to tour the country and enrich the magazines with his attacks upon psychical research, within which his revelations of knowledge are not very profound. Have certain facts like winged arrows pierced the joints of his armor, and is he, actuated by the Saul of Tarsus complex, fighting for the preservation of his own academic orthodoxy? It is an interesting psychological question.

13. Even rational men, unable to cope with facts against which they have an emotional complex, frequently react irrationally, set up an illusory dogma and cling to it as a pillar of safety. So we hear that psychic or supernormal facts are "impossible" by the "logic of science," are contrary to the laws of nature, and destructive to the principles of the universe. Psychologists, much more than physicists and biologists, are apt to cherish the delusion that science has reached the point where it can perfectly delimit between the possible and the impossible, that its principles and final concepts have been perfectly and fully ascertained. Science has been in our own time a changing panorama, continually enlarging the circle to introduce facts formerly regarded impossible, tearing down old and erecting new theories and altering some of its very foundation principles. Was it not Lord Kelvin who said that hypnotism was half fraud and half mal-observation? Certainly it was denounced by many eminent men as gross

humbug. Edison's electric light was declared by several scientists, when the newspapers first reported it, impossible. The phonograph was impossible. The flight of heavy air machines was impossible. So the catalogue could be extended indefinitely. Hence Von Helmholz's dictum to Sir William Barrett was not quite final, great a scientist as he was: "Neither the testimony of all the Fellows of the Royal Society, nor even the evidence of my own senses, could lead me to believe in the transmission of thought from one person to another independently of the recognized channels of sensation. It is clearly impossible." As "impossible" is a word which admits of no comparative degree it follows that since some "impossible" things have nevertheless been found true, others probably will be. And thus far the universe has not suffered from the establishment of "impossible" facts.

But, more than this, the formulas, the theories, some of the very so-called laws relating to the origin and constitution of, and relations existing between material things have changed. As Will Durant has lately said[4]: "To what distant star has our famous nebular hypothesis flown?... Where are the laws of the great Newton now, when Einstein and Moskowski and other disreputable foreigners have upset the universe with their unintelligible relativity? Where is the indestructibility of matter and the conservation of energy in the chaos and dispute of contemporary physics... Where is Gregor Mendel now that 'unit characters' are in bad odor with geneticists?" And again, such queries could be extended. Nor do they breathe contempt for science, whose noble building grows in solidity and grandeur, albeit it undergoes many alterations, some of them so radical as to change its appearance and parts of its very structure. It is only when a scientist becomes a philosopher, and adopts the philosophical theory of mono-materialism, that psychic facts seem impossible in the scheme of things. Let these facts reach to the indisputable stage and the scientists' philosophy of the universe will alter to include them, and they will composedly smile at the perturbations of their predecessors.

14. But is it not a fact that the field of Psychic Research extends back through centuries of gross and silly superstitions? Superstitions are often wrong interpretations of facts. But there certainly is very much of superstition in the sense of irrational and unfounded occult beliefs and practices perceptible in our glimpses of ancient times, and

[4]Harper's Magazine, December, 1926.

amongst cultured peoples of the present age. Think of the fact that some newspapers still print daily "horoscopes," although no scientific investigator in the world credits the absurdities of astrology! And of the host of generally intelligent people who have respect for the theory that human destiny is portrayed by the lines that folds of flesh happen to make in the palm of the hand! Or for that moronic superstition called numerology, or for a machine which will determine from your autograph whether you have a cancer or the chickenpox and what was the religious belief of your father! But other sciences also have had their history and have today their disreputable camp following of superstition. Chemistry was largely born out of alchemy, and astronomy out of astrology. Shall we flout the science and art of medicine for the hot bed of superstition in which it was nurtured and for the queer theories which accompanied its main current of progress, as well as for the grotesque doctrines and practices which hang to its skirts still? Is the hypnotism of today to be twitted with Mesmer the charlatan? So Psychic Research is not so very lonely. It is a science, later to develop, like the others, order and discrimination in the midst of chaotic and heterogeneous materials.

15. Next a question, supposed to be quite deadly, is put: "Have not psychical researchers, even scientists among them, been fooled by phenomena which turned out to be illusive?" Certainly, some have blundered in certain cases. Has it not been so elsewhere? So Bastian, a scientist, claimed to have produced living creatures in hermetically sealed jars devoid of life, and wrote a book about it which Tyndall refuted, but biology remains a science. The geologist Beringer was fooled into accepting as genuine fossils, weird manufactures by waggish students, and published a monograph on them, but geology still survives. Charcot fooled himself into thinking that hypnosis always proceeds by three described stages; his observations were deceptive but hypnotism is yet a fact.

Now and then a scientific man, a psychologist, or whatnot, gets logically impressed by a case where the conditions are both as fully under his control and as adequate for judgment as those of a laboratory, probably a case of mental character. Then, in his newly-awakened interest he attends a sitting of so-called "physical phenomena," where the conditions are mostly prescribed for him on the basis of alleged "psychic laws" which correspond closely to the precautions necessary to make difficult the detection of fraud, where in short everything is almost the precise opposite to his familiar labora-

tory. In darkness or near darkness, his hands probably held, listening to the suggestions around him (and even college professors and laboratory experts are human), knowing little of the great area of conjuring possibilities under such conditions, and in some cases feeling a knightly unwillingness that an appealing medium shall be less innocent than she looks—under these conditions, when things occur quite outside of his familiar experiences, he sometimes becomes, as Samson did when his hair was cut,—"like any other man," and goes forth to give his favorable opinion, though it be counter to that of investigators of twenty times his experience. These tragedies will become less and less in number with the passage of time, as in other branches of research equally blundering conclusions are already less frequent.

16. "But," again it is urged, "Psychical Researchers do not agree in their theories to account for the facts. A particular class of facts is accounted for by some on the basis of spiritism, by others on that of telepathy, while 'cryptesthesia'—whatever that is—is the watchword of another, and we even hear of the Cosmic Mind as the explanation. How can we be expected to pay attention to your alleged facts until you come to some agreement in the interpretation of them?" If such a demand had been enforced by the thinking world upon other sciences, there would be little science today. Look at the past history of every science and see the record of conflicts of opinion, and the skeletons of perished theories which line the road. Does chemistry still explain combustion on the theory of phlogiston? Does catastrophism play the part in geology that it once did? Review the long war of theories in medical science, and glance at the grotesque therapies which still appeal to public credulity. Psychical Research is almost the youngest branch of scientific exploration, and of course there are differing theories. This is the very sign that it is alive and that opposing schools agree on a large basis of facts, although not yet on all classes of alleged facts.

It is not a century since psychology was nothing more than a theoretical discussion of the three formal categories of the "soul", intellect, sensibility and will. It is not fifty years since William James said that he did not see that it had any practical use. It has enormously developed, various methods hitherto undreamed of have been applied to its investigation, and it is of use in various ways for various practical ends. But is there unity of theory; do all psychologists agree in interpretation? I need only to mention the psychology of

James, or of McDougall on the one side and of that obstreperous young scoffer Behaviorism on the other, or Freudism and Anti-Freudism. Wundt at one period held that psychology is merely a branch of physiology, and later reversed his position, lamenting the wild oats of his youth, but he remained a pioneer of psychological method.

No general test should be applied to Psychical Research, in order to ascertain its validity, which would not be regarded as equally significant if applied to other branches of science.

17. But was not Podmore a keen and indefatigable psychical researcher, and did he not combat the spiritistic theory? Only pausing to remark that there is much in psychical research besides spiritism, I answer that he did, but did so by urging, with extreme ingenuity and multiplied minor assumptions, the claims of telepathy. That is, he combated one theory of supernormal character by another. It must not be forgotten that telepathy if it exists is a supernormal fact, that is, it is not within the present "logic" of the science most commonly accepted,—it means that thought passes from one person to another by some process unknown and other than the recognized channels of the senses. The opponent of the authenticated facts of mediumship is between the devil and the deep sea, either he must resort to telepathy, usually abhorrent because fatal to his materialistic philosophy, or he must pretend that the evidence does not exist, and, covering his eyes, "thob" for the safety of his hypothetical soul formulas and shibboleths about the "logic" and the "laws" of science, "animistic tendencies" and the "will to believe." Dr. George M. Beard was frank when he wrote that to face the evidence appeared to be so deadly that "for logical, well-trained, truth-loving minds, the only security against spiritism is hiding or running away." Incredible as it may seem, these are the actual words printed by an opponent of psychical research.

18. Do psychical researchers all agree that any types of phenomena are supernormal? If I may be allowed to define a psychical researcher as a person of evident intelligence and cultivation, whose writings reveal acquaintance with and employment of critical method, who has had much experience in this field, and who is interested in the fixation of facts and not in propaganda, religious or other, I answer in the affirmative, and will name four types upon which I think that there is practically unanimous agreement, nor is the list necessarily exhaustive.

(1) Telepathy is generally agreed to by psychical researchers, on

the basis of numerous experimental series, and on spontaneous cases of extraordinary character. One instance of the latter class is the fact that the naturalist John Muir, not having seen his friend Professor Butler for years, nor having heard from him for a month, in a letter which contained no hint that he thought of going to California, was impressed, while high up on a plateau of the Yosemite Valley, by the feeling that he must go down and find his friend, descended thousands of feet and found Butler lost and about to be benighted among the rocks. The facts were testified to by both gentlemen. Several incidents almost as remarkable occurred in my relations with a single person.

(2) Veridical (truth-telling) Apparitions. The English Society gathered a large list of cases, from which it eliminated all but the most thoroughly authenticated, then applied the mathematical method with the result that some of the most critical minds in England were convinced that a relation, other than chance, exists between the seeing of such apparitions and the deaths of the persons whom they represent. I think there is practical agreement that not only apparitions but other sensory hallucinations too frequently coincide in time and in relevancy to emotional events happening at a distance, to be without any causal nexus.

(3) Mediumistic deliverances. There is agreement that experiments by stranger sitters under scientific management, with more precautions than opponents have ever thought to suggest, and with absolutely complete record of every word by anyone in the room, have produced series of facts pertinent to sitters, and proveably unknown to the medium, far, sometimes millions of times, beyond the probabilities of chance. Such instances can be exhibited convincingly only in their totality, but I may mention one detached incident. Just following a purported communication from my wife, the medium automatically wrote that I had had a cat with a long, queer name, a name with historical associations, a name from the Greek. Only midway of this description did there come to my memory the name of the last cat I had owned, thirty years ago. Afterwards, without one word of assistance from me, as the stenographic record shows, she correctly gave the name—Mephistopheles. Chance? But as a part of this same incident another name was written, and that was the name of the last and only dog I had ever owned aside from one now in the family. Still chance? Probably no person in the world, before my wife's recent death, but she and myself, would remember

that odd name for a cat, certainly none within 250 miles. No living person but myself and my daughter knew the dog's name, or if conceivable that one person remembers the creature that died ten years ago, after we had owned it a week, that person lives three thousand miles away in the opposite direction from the long-ago abode of the cat.

(4) Psychometry. This is the unfortunate name of the phenomenon, confined to an exceedingly small number of persons, of being able to recite during contact with a strange object a series of facts true of a person connected with the object, facts not inferrible from the object itself. I discovered one remarkable psychic of this kind, a person in private life who had never been so experimented upon. The results were immediate and astounding, case after case, and they have been reported in detail, without other response than a few oracular remarks about "the logic of science," "impossibility" and my "will to believe." She got impressive results in about half out of a dozen tests made before she joined a church which stopped experimentation, and the evidential weight of one of the successes was so enormous that a hundred following failures would have affected it very little. These were the conditions: broad daylight, a letter (for example) folded so that no writing appeared without, and held immoveably between the palms, every word uttered by the psychic and myself taken down, the letter itself taken from an old file without my glancing at it, though I knew who wrote it. And these were the results: thirty-seven statements belonging to three classes in order,—(1) description of physical appearance and other characteristics of a man, (2) references to a journey and to two cities, one by name and one by its peculiar description, (3) a minute description of a church and its surroundings. The author of the letter was a clergyman in a city hundreds of miles from the psychic. Three of the statements impossible to verify or deny were set aside. One of the remaining 34 was only partly correct, and all the rest were literally correct regarding the writer, a journey he had made just before writing the letter, and the church of which he was pastor. One of the leading mathematicians in the country, Alan S. Hawkesworth, F. R. S. A., inclined somewhat to disfavor psychical research, passed upon the chance likelihood of each of the 34 items. I did the same and my estimate proved to be more conservative than his. On the basis of mine, therefore, he calculated the likelihood of obtaining all the 34 ascertained items by mere guess. He found it to be about

1 in 5,000,000,000,000,000. Do you imagine that the psychic read the letter in spite of my vigilance? Very little that she stated would have been revealed even could she have done so.

I have not time to mention other agreements among psychical researchers, or to go to the other end of the spectrum and detail the alleged phenomena, such as "spirit slate-writing" which nearly all psychical researchers as I have defined them regard as always spurious, and "spirit photographs" which all cautious investigators regard as dubious.

In general I may say that the greater certainty and unanimity has been attained in the field of mental than that of physical phenomena, unless we except certain supernormal sounds, especially raps, some of which at least appear to be physically initiated. In other words, the simpler and more open the conditions, the more it is a matter of experienced common-sense and logic, the more certitude. Some apparently very cautious observers have been convinced of movements of objects without contact, but probably no one can be quite convinced short of opportunities for personal observation. Many scientific men on the continent of Europe, some of whom had no previous predelictions in favor of such things, have been convinced of ectoplasm. I have never seen any exhibition, or heard any careful description, of it on this side of the water, which was in the least convincing to me, nor did Drs. Hodgson and Hyslop ever discover any impressive samples. Whether there is a genuine product of that name peculiar to the other side of the water or, lacking the long experience in fakery we have had here, European scientists have been deceived under conditions favorable to deception, I will not undertake to decide.

19. Amateur acceptance and non-acceptance in this field is often delightfully naïve. There is only one thing that we can predict in the case of the "hard-headed business man," and that is that he will never read through one of our elaborate reports, nor listen to reason on the subject. What impresses students will probably make no dent on him, but he may say "Here was something that was certainly genuine," and relate the wonders of a platform code-"telepathist" or of "billet-switching" conjuror. And I, who was a clergyman, may be permitted to say that what clergymen will do only God can predict, for some of them, after remaining prudent in the face of masses of scientific evidence, fall easy victims to ingenious fakery protected by darkness. One of the most learned clergymen that Boston ever

boasted, who during successive seasons discussed science in his Monday lectures, in an hour of weakness was beguiled by a slate-writing conjuror, and wrote a statement witnessing to the passage of matter through matter.

Since the last sentence was written, I learn that two colleges and a theological seminary, none of which, in all probability, ever invited a Hodgson or a Hyslop to speak, are about to open their doors for the glorification by one of its principles, of a case, which has been condemned by three official and accepted commissions which have reported on it, and found highly suspicious by the fourth. My lords and ladies, it is a singular world.

On the other hand, acceptance of the usual "explanation" exhibited in public is about equally naive. I have seen a moving picture demonstrate the methods of fraudulent mediums, which amused me more than a comedy, for, while there are fraudulent mediums enough, probably none of them ever used the means shown since the world began. I have seen at least two magicians demonstrate how things are done, and both of them were mainly faking the fakers. One of them, the most illustrious of all, whom I numbered among my friends, told me publicly that magicians can make raps like those I studied in my house. I responded, "No doubt you could rig up a 'gimick' to produce the raps in my house, but give me the same liberty of examination that I exercised for months, and I will discover it within two hours, if not five minutes. If you think otherwise, I invite you to come over and try it out." He didn't come. I likewise invite any magician living to fake psychometry by guess and shrewd inference and in one of fifty trials give me, with all his boasted arts, a result comparable with those published by me, and achieved by a simple unprofessional woman.

20. Finally it is well to mention some of the by-products of psychical research, as they should be taken into account in the effort to ascertain if it is worth while. Here I can do no better than to borrow from the remarks of Mr. H. Addington Bruce.[5] "It is safe to say that no scientific movement ever set on foot has, in the same length of time, contributed so much toward the advancement of knowledge as psychical research." Granting great credit to Wundt and his disciples for the marvellous development of psychology after 1885, very largely the stimulus was derived from "those 'dabblers in the

[5] *Unpopular Review,* Oct.-Dec., 1914.

occult,' who like Sidgwick, Myers and Gurney in England, and Janet and Richet in France, thought it not beneath their dignity to study table-tipping, alleged telepathy, and the disputed phenomena of the hypnotic trance. To them, incontrovertibly, we owe the foundation-laying of abnormal psychology, with its manifold implications." Hypnotism had not ceased to be an "occult" subject when the psychical researchers Janet and Gurney did much to lay the foundations of its use both for the study of the human mind and for therapy.

Dr. Morton Prince, and probably others who have become prominent in mental therapeutics, was directly inspired to specialize therein by the pioneer work done by Edmund Gurney, psychical researcher. And there have been fresh springs; for example, the Emmanuel method of mental therepeutics, which has had a large and, when its principles have been adhered to, salutary influence, originated with Dr. Elwood Worcester, a psychical researcher.

Psychical researchers such as Janet, Gurney and Myers, and Hyslop and others since have done much to explore and enlarge the boundaries of the subconscious mind. Myers is the man who invented the term "subliminal".

Psychical researchers contributed the oft-quoted Ansel Bourne Case of dual personality, the Brewin Case, the Heinrich Myers Case, and the mammoth Doris Case of Multiple Personality to the literature of abnormal psychology.

And psychical researchers have accomplished these things and more because, from Myers to William James and from James to Hyslop and the present, they disdained not to handle what others thrust aside with contempt, because like anatomists, they searched down to the very entrails of human experience, and because, after they had observed and tested and verified and studied, with unflinching honesty they declared the facts which they had found.

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A REVIEW OF THE MARGERY CASE†

By Walter Franklin Prince

Margery the Medium. By J. Malcolm Bird. New York, Small, Maynard and Co., 1925, pp. 518. Referred to hereinafter as *M.M.*

Margery-Harvard-Veritas: A Study in Psychics. Anonymous; issued by M. W. Richardson, C. S. Hill, A. W. Martin, S. R. Harlow, J. DeWyckoff, and L. R. G. Crandon. Privately printed; copies can be obtained from Dr. L. R. G. Crandon, 366 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 1925, pp. 109. Referred to hereinafter as *M.H.V.*

Articles in the *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research,* vol. 19, 1925 (referred to hereinafter as *J.A.S.P.R.*), in *Scientific American,* 1924-25 (referred to hereinafter as *S.A.*), etc.

In May, 1923,[1] there blazed out the most brilliant star in the firmament of alleged physical mediumship that America has seen in fifty years, 'Margery,' the wife of Dr. L. R. G. Crandon, a Boston surgeon. At hundreds of sittings,[2] it is claimed, 'ectoplasmic' limbs—extruded from her body and afterward reabsorbed—have performed various acts, such as touching persons seated nearby in the darkness, shoving, lifting and throwing objects, overturning a small table, ringing the bell in a box activated by a contact cover, producing phosphorescent lights, etc.[3] The establishment of these claims would have profound interest for science, since they imply the exercise of energy in a manner at present unknown to physics, and modifications of the human body revolutionary of present physiology. If it be a fact that the vocal and whispered utterances and the whistling sounds which are so frequent an accompaniment are 'independent,' that is, not produced by the vocal organs of any living person, and yet requiring the presence of a peculiarly-constituted person, the fact has deep significance for physics, psychology, and physiology. Also the appearance of live pigeons and flowers, either by special creation or by passage through matter, if factually established, would considerably enlarge

†Reprinted by permission from the *American Journal of Psychology.*

[1] *M.M.,* 13.

[2] *M.M.* gives more or less details of upwards of 260 sittings (see table, 486-499) up to Dec. 27, 1924.

[3] For the period before Dingwall's coming, *M.M.* gives the fullest description of phenomena from its author's point of view; for the meagre but best printed account of the sittings in the period presided over by Mr. Dingwall, see his address printed in *J.A.S.P.R.,* 1925, 125-134; and for the period of the Harvard Group consult the report of its spokesman, Mr. Hudson Hoagland, *Atlantic Monthly,* 1925, 666-681; also the sitting-notes printed (with important omissions) in *M.H.V.*

the domain of either biology or physics.[4] Many other phenomena are alleged, and they all purport to be manifestations of a spirit, always or nearly always 'Walter,' mainly exercised by the materialization of organs and limbs for the purpose.

The literature of the case has been extensive, as the following incomplete table, confined to this country, shows.

(1) Hundreds of newspaper articles, including many specially prepared by the inner circle, assailing investigators who have reported adversely.

(2) Many favoring articles in Spiritualist and even some other religious organs.

(3) Articles of essential advocacy by Mr. J. M. Bird in the *Scientific American,*[5] the verdicts of its Committee members,[6] an article by Dr. Crandon attacking the "preliminary" verdict,[7] and an answer claiming to point out his divergences from fact.[8]

(4) A pamphlet by Mr. Harry Houdini, claiming to demonstrate fraud by 'Margery.'[9]

(5) A book, *Margery the Medium* of 518 pages by Mr. Bird, in defense of her phenomena.

(6) A report of the Harvard investigation, by Mr. Hudson Hoagland, in the *Atlantic Monthly.*

(7) Seventeen statements, discussions and letters relating to the case in the *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research,* March-December, 1925. Of these 6 were by Bird (made a research officer of the A.S.P.R. following the announcement of his conversion), 3 by Dr. Crandon, 2 by his personal friend; three times the material in favor that there was against, and everything against carefully answered by Mr. Bird or Dr. Crandon.[10] The record shows that fuller details of the Harvard findings were refused although the *Atlantic Monthly* report was assailed by Bird, and that proof offered from outside the group that he had distorted the facts failed to interest the *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research.*[11]

(8) Lately the Crandon group has gratuitously distributed an anonymous pamphlet of 109 pages, entitled *Margery-Harvard-Veritas.*[12]

The Research Officer of the A.S.P.R. has advocated Margery before many Spiritualist and general audiences, and Dr. Crandon and others have similarly proclaimed her genuineness. I know of no platform propaganda in opposition, aside from the diatribes of Houdini.

[4]Chapters XVIII and XX of *M.M.* give the details regarding the pigeon and the flowers. The phenomena of 'apports' seem to have disappeared from the case before any decisive tests were applied.

[5]*S.A.,* July and Aug., 1924. [6]*S. A.,* Nov. 1924, Apr. 1925. [7]*S.A.,* Jan. 1925. [8]*S.A.,* Feb. 1925.

[9]*Houdini exposes the tricks used by the Boston medium 'Margery,'* 1924, pp. 32.

[10]See file of *J.A.S.P.R.*

[11]Both letters of declination and the manuscript of the proffered reply are on file in my office. Bird's article is reproduced in *M.H.V.,* 83-93. I find it impossible to square many of its statements with the evidence.

[12]*M.H.V.* in these notes.

It is time that an outline history and critique of the case should be written. This I am attempting on the sole basis of a great mass of printed and manuscript documents. I abstain from mentioning any of the unpublished observations of the phenomena by myself, not acting as a witness or an attorney, but strictly as a reviewer.

I. *The First Year of the Phenomena.* About two-fifths of the 518 pages comprising *M.M.* are devoted to the 133 sittings from May 1923 to April 1924, the materials having been furnished by Dr. Crandon.[13] But as the author tells us that "no record was made of the arrangement of the sitters or the degree of control" at the first 63 sittings, and that such vital information only "sometimes appears incidentally or otherwise" in connection with the 70 which followed,[14] this part of the compilation can hardly impress the scientific reader, however convincing sittings may have been to persons present. Hope quite abandons such a reader when he finds the records mostly chopped into bits, classified and reassembled for dramatic effect under such titles as "The Gobble-Uns'll Git You Ef You Don't Watch Out," and "Ghostly Fingers in the Dark."[15] The anecdotes are liberally sprinkled with the compiler's subtle and somewhat oracular remarks.

II. *The Scientific American Investigation.* The Committee formed by the *Scientific American* to study cases brought to its attention consisted of Dr. Wm. McDougall, Harvard psychologist, then president of the American Society for Psychical Research; Dr. D. F. Comstock, formerly professor in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, interested in psychical research; Mr. H. Carrington, author of books dealing with psychical research; Dr. W. F. Prince, then research officer of the A.S.P.R.; and Mr. H. Houdini, magician. Mr. Bird became, not by action of the committee, secretary to the committee and, as he says, "stage manager."[16] In the latter capacity he was chiefly responsible for procedure, the strict function of committee members being to act as judges. That bane of scientific research—premature publicity—was precipitated in spite of protests from the committee. Never was an investigation more hampered, both at this and subsequent stages, by prohibitions and arbitrary rules.

(1) An investigator ought to be able to see, at least in some kind of light. But the darkness was relieved by red light, more or less, only when 'Walter' gave the signal,[17] reminding one of the magician who withdraws the curtain after a wonder is prepared behind it. Darkness may be required by a 'psychic law,' but it is also convenient for hoaxing.

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[13] *M.M.*, VIII.

[14] *M.M.*, 486, 489.

[15] Sometimes scraps of a sitting are scattered through seven chapters. See table, *M.M.*, 489-491.

[16] Mr. Bird in *Banner of Life*, Aug. 8, 1925. See also *M.M.*, 151.

[17] "For fear of injury to the medium no lights shall be turned on at any time without permission of 'Walter'." Draft of rules written by Dr. Crandon, dated Aug. 4, 1924. But Dr. Crandon could turn on white light in the midst of phenomena, with impunity. See *M.M.*, 139.

(2) It ought to be possible to make reasonable use of those important instruments of investigation, the hands. But hands were held fast except momentarily under strict regulations. The 'ectoplasmic limb' may shove, lift and throw objects, slap sitters and pull their hair, and even overturn the table or rip away the wing of the cabinet, but the slightest touch laid upon it unbidden, it is explained, might fearfully shock the medium. This seems unreasonable and yet investigators obeyed the inscrutable law.

(3) Investigators ought to be permitted cautiously to test how far alleged laws are actually valid. An investigator on one occasion ventured to move his own and the psychic's hands slowly into the area between her and the bell-box, and no objection being made continued to do so.[18] Since the bell rang nevertheless, the law against this founded on the theory of 'psychic rods' seemed disproved, yet after-experimentation of the kind was forbidden. If in his one daylight sitting the two momentary muffled tinkles really came from the box and not from beneath the medium's skirts five inches distant, the important discovery was made that the box-bell could be rung under the most favorable conditions.[19] She was uninjured and fresh enough to have another sitting that very night, and four more within a week,[20] but he never could get another daylight sitting.

(4) Scientific investigators are supposed to plan the nature, particular time and duration of their tests. But here 'Walter' autocratically directed, consenting or refusing, unexpectedly switching phenomena or terminating a series of a particular type before the hiatus in the proof was filled.[21]

(5) Besides the above traditional ritual restrictive of scientific liberty, the following rules were invented, constituting, whether or not so intended, an effective device to hamper investigators consenting to be so bound, and to embarrass them after an unfavorable verdict.

(a) Every member must sign a blanket report composed of individual observations dictated during the sitting by different members, without a proviso that he is responsible only for his own observations and descriptive terms. The member who declined to assume responsibility for any errors other than his own has since been voluminously berated for not subscribing to the individual observations of his colleagues since they were colleagues,[22] yet the members have been as vigorously scolded for not repudiating the observations of Houdini, also a colleague.[23]

(b) Another rule, not set forth to any of the investigating com-

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[18] *M.H.V.*, 9.

[19] Margery's version in *M.M.*, 471-473; Prince's statement in *S.A.*, Feb. and Apr. 1925, *Banner of Life*, Nov. 28, 1925; Dr. Crandon's version in *M.H.V.*, 15.

[20] *M.M.*, 498.

[21] *M.M.*, 26, 161-162, 165, 224, 357, 400.

[22] *M.M.*, 446; *M.H.V.*, 9; *S.A.*, Jan., 1925, 65; filed letters by Dr. Crandon.

[23] *Psychic Science*, July, 1925, 127; *S.A.*, Jan., 1925; *Banner of Life*, Oct. 19 and 31, 1925.

missions, seems to have been in Dr. Crandon's mind. Every particular word or expression dictated during the sittings, no matter how empirical and tentative such necessarily were, especially during the first stages of an investigation, no matter what accidental infelicities of extemporaneous language might have entered, no matter how later discoveries negatived earlier deceptive impressions, must be held sacred forever. There can be no other point in italicising passages of the sitting notes printed in *M.H.V.*

(c) Everything deemed important must appear in the contemporaneous record,[24] the corollary being that nothing not there appearing can ever afterward be deemed important. A more paralyzing rule could not be devised. Frequently facts which at the time seem unimportant and which are clearly remembered by several persons afterward are found to be very important, fitting into the now apparent mosaic. Dr. Crandon and his spokesmen frequently disregarded the absurd rule which they would impose upon others.[25]

(d) The dictated words "control perfect" and the like, shall imply that the possibility of fraud is eliminated,[26] yet thousands have erroneously supposed themselves successfully controlling a medium's movements, and the most intelligent may be deceived for a time. A rule to make a blunder sacred forever or to convict an investigator for becoming wiser is an oddity.

(e) Any observed indication of fraud must be announced immediately.[27] This rule would have the effect of coaching a fraudulent medium and preventing the development of fraud to the point of proof. Houdini's compliance with the rule and the consequent wrangle have been denounced,[28] and so has Hoagland's delaying the announcement until the sitting was over.[29]

(f) At one sitting the investigators allowed Dr. Crandon to dictate into the notes an expression which, as it then read, is rather of a truism: "Unless there is a suggestion of fraud in this record, IT IS *assumed* to be non-existent, *in our opinion.*"[30] But by altering this to "if no suspicion of fraud is entered in these notes, it SHALL BE *deemed* non-existent,"[31] there is made a law that an assumption based

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[24]Put in writing by Dr. Crandon, and on file.

[25]For one example, see *M.H.V.*, 12. Nothing is in the official notes about Houdini's passing his hand along the medium's arm in the box, though the fact is stated correctly; an "intelligible reason" for the act was given by Houdini at the time. Nor does the record say that Houdini measured the distance from psychic to bell-box at the beginning of the sitting, but it does say that he measured at its close. See also *M.M.*, 434

[26]Put in writing by Dr. Crandon, and on file.

[27]Ibid.; "Any sitter believing that he observes fraud shall proclaim it at once."

[28]Houdini's pamphlet, 17 f.; Doyle in *M.H.V.*, 9.

[29]*M.H.V.*, 23.

[30]Sitting-notes, *M.H.V.*, 43, caps and italics mine.

[31]Dr. Crandon's version, *M.H.V.*, 22, caps and italics mine.

upon the opinion of an hour shall perpetually have the force of a declaration of fact.[32]

(g) The husband of the medium must be one of her controllers. Exceedingly few of hundreds of sittings were exempt from this condition.[33] Such a situation is scientifically suspect and in view of the fact admitted in detail even by Bird, that Dr. Crandon's testimony as to continuity of control is unreliable,[34] it greatly increased the difficulty of ascertaining what took place in the darkness.

The restrictions set forth in the above Sections 1 to 4 inclusive show why the majority of the first commission were not able absolutely to determine that no supernormal phenomena were displayed. In the nature of things the restrictions prevented the absolute determination of fraud if fraud existed unless the rules were violated or revealing accidents occurred.

It was by springing the many-toothed legalistic trap shown in Section 5, that an unreflecting or emotional share of the public have been persuaded that the first commission (as well as the two subsequent ones) was inconsistent and vacillating. It is mainly a contention as to words, yet, barring a few colloquial lapses in the notes, the inconsistencies seem those which inevitably attend the progress from a state of mind unable to explain to one able to explain.

Readers of *M.M.* should be warned to take its utterances with liberal grains of salt. Certainly many of them grossly misstate and warp facts of vital importance. A list of sixty selected examples with their refutations from inexpugnable data was offered for Dr. Crandon and the author of the book to defend, without avail, except that the former wrote: "I can probably find more inaccuracies in Bird's book than you can."[35] Hence it is not here necessary to support the warning by citations.

Yet some of the revelations in this book seem naïve. We learn from it and from other sources[36] that Dr. Crandon paid Messrs. Carrington and Bird their expenses for investigating his wife, and entertained the former in his house 44 days and nights and the latter

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[32]Had the expressions extemporaneously employed by persons guessing in the darkness been thrice as incautious as they sometimes were, to hold them sacrosanct against all after discovery, reflection and analysis, is as intelligent as cabalism.

[33]Dr. Crandon was beside Margery in 109 out of the 112 sittings of the *Scientific American* period whose sitting order was recorded; *M.M.*, 491-496.

[34]*M.M.*, 157-159, 256; Bird even states this was "usual."

[35]It is proper to quote this sentence, since it is taken from a letter related to the one which Dr. Crandon in *M.H.V.*, 19, opens to the public—("Dr. Prince declares in writing that he can make out an equally good circumstantial case against Margery or Houdini,"—meaning if the matter of the rule in the box were taken by itself, disregarding the testimony of many persons, printed or on file, that they observed *other* indications of mediumistic fraud), and since he refers to another letter (making Prince back down when it was Dr. Crandon who wrote that *he* preferred "to let it drop"). The letters, as well as the "sixty examples," are on file and open to inspection.

[36]*M.M.*, 155; *M.H.V.*, 9.

57. "Houdini and Prince preferred to stop at a hotel." This preference was perhaps on the ground that it would be embarrassing to render a verdict against persons on whose bounty they had been living, and more embarrassing in the event of a favorable verdict to incur the imputation, if not the actual risk, that friendship and knightliness might affect their judgment.

The verdicts of the Scientific American Committeemen were as follows, in brief:[37]

Dr. Comstock: "Rigid proof has not yet been furnished."

Dr. McDougall: "As long ago as November, 1923, . . . I was inclined to regard all the phenomena I had observed as produced by normal means. . . . Since that date . . . the inclination described above has grown steadily stronger in the main, in spite of some minor fluctuations, and has now become well-nigh irresistible."

Dr. Prince: "No sitting at which I was present was to me convincing. . . . In fact, I could write a chapter of indications which, in the absence of contravening proof, seem to tell the story of normal and deceptive production."

Mr. Houdini: "Everything which took place at the seances which I attended was a deliberate and conscious fraud."

Mr. Carrington: "Many of the observed manifestations might well have been produced fraudulently—and possibly were so produced. . . . But I am convinced that genuine phenomena have occurred here."

Mr. Bird, likewise convinced, and since the most voluble defender, was not a member of the committee.[38] He was, however, one of the two editors who had "worked out a plan," namely the formation of the Committee, to furnish "material which would have to be accepted as authoritative." These are his words.[39]

III. *Mr. Dingwall's Investigation.* Dr. Crandon arranged with Mr. Dingwall, Research Officer of the Society for Psychical Research, to come from London as a sort of appellate court. The great feature of this series, Dec., 1924, to Feb., 1925, was the production of "ectoplasm," sometimes like an ill-formed, cold hand feeling like "blanc-mange," and lying on the table or in the medium's lap, sometimes a curious substance seen either issued from or poked into her ear. The substance was never seen in the process of actual materialization. Unfortunately, Dingwall's hopes that the missing links of authentication would be supplied were disappointed, for in his report he says:[40] "The control of the medium appears to be rigid, and is faultless if we accept Dr. F. H. [Dr. Crandon] as a *bona fide* inves-

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[37] *S.A.*, Nov., 1924; April, 1925.

[38] Mr. Bird says he had no doubts of genuineness left after his 12th sitting (*M.M.*, 438.). That was April 28, 1924 (*M.M.*, 488ff.). Yet in *S.A.* of Aug., 1924, writing after he had been present at 22 more sittings, he had said: "Manifestations have not yet occurred in our presence under full test conditions."

[39] *M.M.*, 149.

[40] *J.A.S.P.R.*, June, 1925.

tigator, which, under the circumstances, he is himself the first to admit is impossible. The conditions, therefore, of the sittings are such that I cannot at present affirm my belief in the authenticity of the phenomena."

Dr. McDougall attended a number of these sittings, and there were indications which greatly increased his doubts. Certain photographs of the "ectoplasmic hand," especially, seemed to him to resemble lung-tissue, artificially shaped into resemblance to an ill-formed hand.[41] In at least one the annular bands of a trachea and a tubular opening appeared to be recognizable.[42] Refused prints of the photographs by Dr. Crandon, it was not until a year later that he could submit them to experts. Now Dr. W. B. Cannon, professor of physiology, and Dr. H. W. Rand, associate professor of zoology, both in Harvard University, support McDougall, stating that the "ectoplasm" undoubtedly was composed of the lung tissue of some animal. Other biologists and physicians coincide with this judgment.[43]

IV. *Investigation by a Harvard Group.* Four instructors and a graduate student—having been somewhat impressed by the phenomena as seen in the Crandon home—formed at "Walter's" suggestion a circle for study. They secured the use of a room of the Harvard psychological department. The University authorities gave Hoagland permission, if the results should constitute a substantial contribution to knowledge, to submit them and their discussion as a Ph.D. thesis.[44]

A number of professors and physicians were invited to assist, their attendance being limited by Dr. Crandon's requirement that but one or two should be admitted at a time. For six sittings, May 19 to June 24, 1925, no trickery was discovered and the majority of the sitters seem to have become impressed by phenomena. Several reports of the sittings, against the protest of the investigators, appeared in print. The last declared: "It is a joy to observe this study being made by honest men with open minds."[45] But on June 29th and 30th a number of things happened.

Mr. Hoagland, as spokesman of the Harvard group, published a report in *The Atlantic Monthly* of November. Dr. Crandon protested that this was in violation of agreement. On eight grounds appearing in the documents I think this contention unjustified,[46]

[41] *J.A.S.P.R.*, April, 1925, 198.

[42] This photograph has never been published, although evidentially valueless ones have appeared (as those of "spirit" hands, opposite p. 480 of *M.M.*, which might or might not be from the plaster casts shown opposite p. 340).

[43] *N. Y. Times,* Feb. 28, 1926; Mar. 14, 1926.

[44] Statements by members of the group on file.

[45] *Banner of Life,* June 13, 1925, 20, 27; July 4.

[46] There is space but to allude to the principal of these, viz: that Dr. Crandon formally assented in May to Mr. Hoagland's plan to use the results, if suitable, for a Ph.D. thesis; that no intention finally to suppress them

but, after all, the nature of the facts is not affected by the formal question whether they should have been suppressed. Following is a digest of the principal features in the report.

The great phenomenon was an "ectoplasmic limb" and its acts; but the ectoplasm differed in shape, consistency, reach and many other particulars from that of the Dingwall period.

The report alleges more than twenty items of evidence (some complex), direct and collateral, leading to a verdict of normal production.

Witnesses on the 29th saw a luminous anklet upon the floor; the claim that it fell off because too large was disproved;[47] 'Walter' denied but at the next sitting admitted that it had been off;[48] and it was surreptitiously replaced. Hoagland distinctly saw the silhouette of a foot, its toes holding the luminous disc, and he traced the form of the leg to the knee.[49] The two discoveries gave the clues by which under the same conditions Code was able to reproduce the performances to the entire satisfaction of previous witnesses.

The plasticine, after the 'ectoplasm' had pressed it, showed skin marks, lint microscopically identical with that in the medium's slipper, and also inclusions of sand and an insect skeleton such as would be found upon the floor.[50]

The ankle-bands being firmly secured on the 30th, the leg was out of question, but the controllers (Professor Shapley and Mr. Code) observed the medium work both hands free from control, and one of them detected her conveying objects from the region of her lap and afterward returning them.[51] Internal search of the medium has never been permitted.

The 'ectoplasm' of the 30th differed from that of the 29th by

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was ever broached; that Dr. Crandon allowed, against protest, data about the sittings to be printed in four issues of the *Banner of Life*; that solely for defence of himself and colleagues against premature gossip Professor Shapley on June 29th stipulated that names should not be given out without specific authorization and that attempts should be made to avoid publicity; that this agreement was not signed by Dr. Crandon and was binding only on those who did sign it; that nine members of the group did authorize giving out a report after the sittings ended; that Dr. Crandon wrote a letter on July 6th saying that he agreed (to Code) not to publish the Harvard sittings except with the consent of the majority of the signers, yet without obtaining such consent he furnished the notes from which a garbled account appeared in several issues of the *Boston Herald,* before the report by Hoagland came out in *Atlantic Monthly.*

[47]The anklets used this evening, for the fourth time, were pinned by the medium to the circumference of her own, were tight enough to leave skin marks, and had the safety pins still in place when they were taken off.

[48]*M. H. V.*, 73, 78.

[49]Hoagland's addendum, expunged from p. 77 of *M. H. V.*

[50]The writer examined the plasticine imprints and found the lint, etc., stamped into the clay, which was clean outside the periphery of the impressions.

[51]Particulars in this paragraph and the next to be found in sitting notes omitted by *M. H. V.* See dots occuring before the signatures, *M. H. V.*, 82

numerous characteristics. Its movements correlated with those of the luminous armlet. Various signs indicated a mechanical contrivance worked by hand. The plasticine received an imprint like that of a chain, but no skin-marks, though there were three deep impressions resembling those which cloth-covered fingers would make. What the feet could not do this evening the hands could do, as Code's duplication under like conditions proved. Thus both on the 29th and 30th the correct scientific method was employed; observation followed by hypothesis, hypothesis followed by verifying check.

The above, with many other focussing collateral details, left no perplexities in the minds of the Harvard group, including the woman physician whom the Crandon pamphlet attempts to make appear a witness in Margery's favor.[52]

Hoagland's report stresses, at least provisionally, the theory that the trickery is largely automatic, subconscious. But the incorporated argument by Code to that effect can be applied in most of its parts to every professional medium, including those known to purchase their apparatus and to consult with each other as to methodology.

Certain acts and expressions of Code which have been criticised appear to have been effects of friendship for the Crandon family and of his desire to shield it so far as possible, but they only emphasize his reluctant testimony as to the vital facts, which, by the way, do not rest upon his witness alone.

Subsequently, to correct false rumors in the newspapers that they were not agreed, all the members of the Harvard group who could be reached at the time signed and printed a statement that "the group is in absolute agreement that the only conclusion possible to them is that trickery accounted for all the phenomena; that the only possible difference of opinion in the group is to what extent the trickery was unconscious." The signatories were: Harlow Shapley (director of Harvard Astronomical Observatory), S. B. Wolbach, (professor of pathology in Harvard Medical School), Edwin G. Boring (director of Harvard Psychological Laboratory), Hilbert F. Day (surgeon), Deborah Fawcett (physician), Hudson Hoagland (engineer and now Harvard assistant in psychology), S. Foster Damon, Robert Hillyer and John Marshall (all three Harvard instructors in English).[53]

The anonymous pamphlet *Margery-Harvard-Veritas,* lately issued by Dr. Crandon and his friends, attempts to discredit the judgment of all sixteen persons composing three accepted tribunals except Mr. Carrington, and also claims to present the entire notes of the Harvard sittings, "absolutely as they were written and signed."

As regards the first factor, the contradictions, perversions and sup-

[52] *M.H.V.,* 27; see note 61.

[53] Excessively young men" (*M.H.V.* 83). Their ages range upwards to 40, and the youngest is older than Pitt when he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hamilton when made the valued aide of Washington, Huxley when already engaged in the researches which made him a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Crookes when he had begun his important discoveries.

pressions of established data are so numerous and similar to those in *M.M.* as to suggest a common hand. It is asserted that after a rule was found in the box Houdini went into "a state of prostration" and exclaimed, "I am willing to forget this if you are," although everyone present knows that the prostration is a myth, and that the words were uttered after 'Walter' apologized for a profane and vulgar sentence which had issued from the region of the medium's mouth.[54] "Dr. Prince. . . declares he does not know whether a bell that lies in his own lap rings or not,"[55] is the twist put upon the incident given above [p. 202] and correctly reported to Dr. Crandon in writing; *M.H.V.* asserts that "there was no luminous doughnut" on June 30th, although pages 80-81 show its use; that "they brought no apparatus except the bell-box" on that date,[56] though various pieces of apparatus are named in the notes printed on the same pages; that the plasticine balls were on June 29th "all piled in a bag" unidentified and "made off with" by Dr. Wolbach,[57] whereas they were carefully marked and placed in boxes. It is asked if the use of the 12-inch anklets in the seventh sitting was "to form a way of escape for the honorable investigators,"[58] although the same anklets had been used at previous sittings.

Secondly, the exact assurance of *M.H.V.* is: "We append herewith the *official notes* of the Harvard sittings. They appear *absolutely as written and signed"* (italics mine).[59] This statement proves, on comparison, to be complexly untrue:

(1) *Changes.* The prefatory paragraph on page 40 of *M.H.V.* has been altered, and "Dr. Crandon" or "Crandon" changed more than a hundred times to "F. H."—excusable alterations but for the denial of any changes. There are other alterations, unimportant, but yet alterations.

(2) *Additions.* A paragraph of 108 words on page 82, declaring that in "our minds" is "no doubt that this mediumship is one of the most important ever recorded," masquerades as part of the sitting-notes.

(3) *Subtractions.* Two recorded vulgarisms of 'Walter' are missing from page 40, and a passage of 49 words, containing an especially offensive utterance, has been expunged from page 42. All "damns," references to the Deity and Hades are carefully omitted from pages 43, 45, 47, 61, 62, 66, 70, 72 and 78.

(4) *Omissions.* Now we come to prime offenses, the omission of notes of crucial importance. Although various addenda of the earlier and uncertain stage of proceedings are properly printed, including one written twelve days after the sitting,[60] Mr. Hoagland's addendum of 210 words relating to his discovery of the leg, made during the sitting and announced later the same evening, is entirely expunged, although regularly incorporated with the original official notes and typed on the

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[54] *M.H.V.*, 12. [55] *M.H.V.*, 15. [56] *M.H.V.*, 25. [57] *M.H.V.*, 24. [58] *M.H.V.*, 32. [59] *M.H.V.*, 37. [60] *M.H.V.*, 59.

same page with the matter at the top of page 77! Also, the final 4½ pages of June 30th, partly composed of dictaphone notes of the same evening and partly of addenda supplied by members of the group, embodying their conclusions and in particular vitally important facts of that evening, such as the description by two observers of how the psychic freed all of one hand and the fingers of the other, the use she made of them, the peculiarities of the plasticine prints and other particulars, are completely obliterated, making it appear that all such statements were after-thoughts! Altogether I find that about 1440 words have been stricken out of the official notes of the sittings, although parts of this material, secured from Dr. Crandon, had been printed in the Boston Herald before the *Atlantic* report appeared. On page 82 of the *M.H.V.* version itself the tell-tale dots appear, signifying omission of notes "as written and signed." And on page 27 recourse is had to some of the material, "Notes, June 30, p. 9," which is expunged from the pamphlet, giving the very page of the typed manuscript on which it was found.[61]

(5) *Misdirections.* Italicizing passages nullified by discoveries made after the passages were dictated in good but mistaken faith is as bad as altering the text, since it equally misdirects readers. The most of these passages consist of expressions like "Control O. K." Yet the sponsors for the pamphlet well know that after it was learned that a luminous band could be removed and replaced without detection, and while off still appear in the darkness to be on unless the medium forgot the precaution of partly obscuring it, every previous assurance as to the foot had lost its force. The most flagrant instances of misdirection are where passages similar to "feet and hands visible" are italicized, for those responsible for them know that the luminous bands shed no light on nearby objects and that actually the hands and feet were not visible. The expression is a colloquial one, metonymy for the bands then supposed to mark the exact position of hands and feet. Psychic research is not a game of words but an inquiry as to the facts.

Italicized dictations, such as "seems to have very crude fingers," "in general the visible operation of the hand seemed clumsy and awkward," "ill-formed hand," are exactly what the discoverer of the foot in action would desire the reader to attend to.[62]

Those who have the information which explains certain other passages italicize them, apparently, to confuse readers who lack that information. "Foot control checked at Code's request by having each foot move separately in a different direction."[63] As though the free anklet could not be shoved along the floor by the toes! The reader may well be puzzled by the note on page 76 saying that the investi-

[61]Nor does the paragraph correctly represent Dr. Fawcett's testimony. She did not say that "hiding was catamenially impossible" nor anything which necessarily implies that.

[62]*M.H.V.*, 54, 56, 62, 63, 67, 69, 71, 73.

[63]*M.H.V.*, 71.

gators were to blame for the bands coming off. They at the moment trusted the psychic's statement that the bands were loose—not until afterward did they find that she had pinned the anklets to exactly the dimensions of her own impeccable ones. They should have measured at once, but I have yet to meet the investigator who never forgot anything he should have done. But there are few passages which should puzzle the reader, unless he intuitively has more knowledge than the actual observers who were convinced of particular frauds. In the light of those discoveries many otherwise perplexing notes become not only clear but buttress the discoveries themselves.

The pamphlet puts various questions of such quality as, "If the garter fell off why didn't Code pick it up?"[64] It seems to be held both that the garter did not come off and that it came off because too loose. But it appears that Code was busily engaged in running the dictaphone at the time and, moreover, the rules definitely forbade his doing what is suggested. The garter was off, and this fact was afterward admitted by 'Walter'; did it 'fall' on again? Why, it is asked,[65] did not Hoagland proclaim his discovery of the leg at the moment? And precipitate a wrangle as Houdini did when he proclaimed fraud, and afterwards have it said that he ought to have been thrown out! Of all cases this seems to be the one where an investigator, whether he does a thing or its opposite, is most certain to be asked why he did not do the other thing.

Dr. Crandon continues with extraordinary perseverance to put forward his medium and to attack the lengthening line of accepted and unconvinced investigators.[66] Beyond all other American cases, the scientific investigation of this has been hampered by traditional ritual, "psychic laws" to be taken for granted and attempts to impose arbitrary and irrational rules. So far as investigators consented to such rules they are denounced for the acts or omissions to act resulting from the rules, and so far as any of them declined to be bound by novel and artificial conventions they are denounced for their contumacy. On the other hand there has probably never been a similar American case which has been tried so open-mindedly and even hopefully, so patiently and fairly. Nor, my acquaintance with the documents compels me to add, have any adverse decisions probably been rendered with such extreme forbearance and economy in the use of pertinent material.

The uncommon hold which the Margery case retains upon public attention is, I think, due to several reasons:

(1) The ordinary difficulties of guessing in the dark under

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[64] *M.H.V.*, 23. [65] *M.H.V.*, 23.

[66] *M.H.V.* indeed sets against the verdicts of the three official commissions the confidence of "three hundred" persons of unknown qualifications who are said to entertain no suspicions (*M.H.V.*, 3f.). But so could Cagliostro, Slade and the Davenport Brothers, and so can living and demonstrated fraudulent mediums, point to their hundreds or thousands of believers.

traditional conditions aided by a set of regulations, arbitrary beyond precedent.

(2) Uncommon cleverness on the part of the medium, both innate and consciously or subconsciously acquired.

(3) Superior technique in accordance with the psychology of deception; exchanging one type of phenomena for another before the study of the first is complete, and devising new types after a verdict has been rendered, so that the medium always keeps one step ahead.[67]

(4) The exclusion of investigators soon after they begin to express doubts and reasons therefor, thereby limiting the number able to declare actual discovery of fraud.

(5) The personal charm of the medium, winning emotional advocacy, especially among men.

(6) A persistent propaganda, persuading many by its very vehemence that its allegations must be true.

(7) Paucity of response from the opposition, to which the indignities of this kind of controversy are distasteful.

(8) The indifference of the masses to dry logic and analysis, and their instinctive gravitation toward the highly sensational.

Supplementary Note for This Volume

No reply has been made to the above review.

A committee of the A. S. P. R., composed of two psychologists and one physicist, has sat on the case, but the Crandons terminated the series at the end of the fourth sitting. The professor of physics declares himself firmly convinced of fraud, says that the apparatus used serves only to give a deceptive appearance of scientific control, asks why instead of the cumbrous voice machine the use of a simple stethoscope to test the "independent voice" is not allowed, affirms that on one occasion in the darkness he traced clear to Margery's mouth a small solid rod covered with something feeling like soft leather, etc. The other two members of the committee did not report, and the A. S. P. R. has been silent on the whole matter.

Also Dr. J. B. Rhine, an instructor of science in West Virginia University, and his wife, Dr. L. E. Rhine, having been much impressed by the favorable accounts particularly of Mr. Bird, had one sitting (failing to get permission for more), made a number of observations throwing light particularly upon the operation of the glass cabinet, and were completely disillusioned. Their report was printed in the first issue of the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* for 1927.

Miss May C. Walker, an indefatigable searcher for psychic phenomena, who has seen and become convinced by some of the physical cases in Europe, came from England suspecting that Margery had

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[67] To no scientific commission which has yet reported have the "voice machine" and glass cabinet been submitted. I am therefore debarred by the plan of this article from discussing their modes of operation.

been treated unfairly by prejudiced investigators. But in two sittings she was profoundly convinced that the phenomena were spurious, and she declared that the "control" allowed and the "conditions" exacted are far less favorable to tests than those in the European cases referred to.

Since the publication of my review, Mr. Dingwall has published a lengthy report of his sittings, in the *Proceedings* of the English S. P. R. (June, 1926), leaving the reader with dubious impressions. His report was followed by a brief letter from Dr. Crandon, chiefly composed of ridicule directed against Mr. Dingwall. Messrs. Hoagland and Code have seventeen pages in a later *Proceedings* of the S.P.R. (Jan., 1927), correcting misapprehensions abroad. So much for the "official and accepted" investigators and the defendants.

In the meantime the *Journal* of the A. S. P. R. has kept up in many issues its heroic defense of Margery, and Dr. Tillyard, a British biologist of little experience in this field, has had two sittings and announced his conversion. Many sitters have come and gone during the last six months, some (including a number of clergymen) thrilled by what they deemed manifestations of the other world, some disgusted by what they were convinced was the jugglery of this world.

There is living today a lady, Anna Eva Fay, who under control apparently more exacting than any to which Margery has submitted, by greater wonders than have ever occurred in connection with Margery, outwitted the electrician Varley and the great scientist Crookes, who were utterly unable to conceive of any normal mode of production. Only the other day (if I may be permitted for once to speak from personal knowledge), under the most casual circumstances, she produced for me in three minutes a "phenomenon" more mysterious than anything I saw in eleven sittings with Margery.

CHAPTER X

SOME LOGICAL ASPECTS OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

By F. C. S. Schiller

I am not ashamed to confess that I have been a psychical researcher for a long time. It was some forty-four years ago, when as a lad of eighteen, I became a psychical researcher. It may seem very remarkable that I have remained one ever since, without either giving up the subject as hopeless or extracting from it any overbelief and turning it into a religion. Perhaps this unusual tenacity in retaining the researcher's attitude will seem to you less remarkable if I relate the story of my conversion to Psychical Research. Some one had been telling a ghost story of the tenth-hand unauthenticated kind which is still usual, and forty years ago was almost universal, and I was indulging in the usual sceptical sneers which were, and still are, fashionable among intelligent young men. But as I was arguing against it and expressing my disbelief, the thought suddenly flashed across my mind, "But why have these stories never been seriously investigated as they ought to be? For if there should prove to be any truth in them, they would be tremendously important!" So I stopped arguing and determined to investigate instead. I have been investigating them ever since. Nor do I regret it for an instant, for the study of psychics has taught me a number of very important truths which I could hardly have learned in any other way and from any other study.

There were, however, serious drawbacks to being a psychical researcher in those days. One more than imperilled, one all but lost any reputation for intellectual sanity one might have had, and exposed oneself to several degrees of martyrdom. I remember, for example, that the first thing I ever heard about Sir William Crookes was that he *had* been a brilliant scientist, but that recently he had unfortunately gone off his head, and lapsed into spiritualism. It was not till many years later, when I met him, that I discovered how grotesquely false this calumny had been. Similar stories were circulated, no doubt from the highest scientific motives, about Harry Sidgwick and William James—in short about every prominent psychical

researcher—to my certain knowledge. I should never be surprised to learn that by this time they had been told, or in consequence of this lecture would now be told, also about me! For, as was so signally illustrated during the late war, there are plenty of people about who hold that a good cause sanctifies every sort of "propaganda". Knowing this, academic personages, especially, greatly feared to rush in where they ran the risk of encountering angels unawares, and the cause of free research and spiritual progress has never, it seems to me, incurred a greater debt of gratitude than that which it owes to the pioneers of Psychical Research. In particular was it not an act of the loftiest moral courage when Sir Oliver Lodge, then the head of Birmingham University, published "Raymond" in the midst of the World War, and so recalled the world to a sense of the spiritual import of the daily butcheries, which, in their nationalistic zeal and their absorption in the Great European Dog-Fight, the churches had everywhere forgotten!

But I must return to my own humbler career as a psychical researcher. When I came to Oxford in 1882 I found that there had been in existence for six or seven years a small band of psychical researchers whom I could join. They were mostly undergraduates, with some recent graduates, not a few of whom, like Sir Charles Oman, the Bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. F. E. Brightman have since attained to academic distinction. They were organized into a club called the Phasmatological Society, and they hunted ghost stories, and, whenever they got the chance, also ghosts. A little before my time, one heroic member was believed to have actually shot a ghost in a haunted house at Horsepath near Oxford, but of course without mortally laying it. Our procedure, when we had run down a ghost story, in as complete and first-hand a shape as it could be got, was to read it out at a meeting of the Society, and to try to "explain" it, i. e. to account for it by natural causes. If no natural explanation could be suggested—and we did not stick at trifles, for I remember we once postulated a wholly hypothetical earthquake in order to explain a story—a story was "voted" unexplained. Our idea was that when a sufficiently large number of "unexplained" stories had accumulated, the Society would solemnly proceed to formulate a theory that would go beyond the bounds of acknowledged science and "explain" them.

You will note that our procedure was inspired by the strictest canons of Baconian induction. Needless to say the "Phas", as we

called it for short, never lived to complete its self-imposed task; and when the Society for Psychical Research was founded in 1882 in London, we became subsidiary to it, and ultimately presented our collection of stories to its archives. It may, however, be contended that the little Oxford Phasmatological Society was the first systematic attempt at scientific research into psychical matters, and it is a curious coincidence that the idea, like that of the Royal Society, first took root in Oxford, though its development soon passed into predominantly Cambridge hands.

I would also urge that from its procedure one could derive a much better training in scientific method and the logic of real reasoning than was then obtainable in Oxford. For the traditional Formal Logic had, and still has, no logical connection whatever with actual reasoning; my experience of investigating the truth-claims of ghost-stories was sufficient to instill this conviction into me, though I could not then have shown, as I was subsequently able to do in Formal Logic, that the whole pseudo-science rested on a systematic abstraction from actual meaning. The metaphysical logicians, of whom Oxford was inordinately proud, dwelt in a fogbelt in which no fact of any sort or kind remained visible, and besides they too were tied at bottom to the abstraction of formal logic. Such theories of scientific method as existed all conceived themselves as theories, not of *inquiry,* but of *proof,* and contented themselves with the somewhat humorous superfluity of bestowing their logical benediction upon truths which the sciences had already established beyond cavil; they all proceeded upon the natural but fatal illusion that the method of science was best exemplified by contemplation of *choses jugées,* by rumination of the questions that had ceased to be open from time immemorial. So they directed one's attention to the tritest truths of mathematics, of whose discovery the record had been lost, and made us attempt to describe how the inquirer should approach real problems and effect his selection among rival hypotheses that all looked as if they might possibly be true. Lastly the actual researchers, who were actively adding to the sum of scientific knowledge, were almost always innocent of textbook logic, and so unhampered by it, even though occasionally, when challenged, they had a disconcerting way of looking up the logic-books and trying to distort their own actual procedure into something like that which they found prescribed by the logicians.

I feel that I owe it to the critical inquiries of the Phasmatological Society that I never became enslaved to the fatuities of the traditional

logic, and became capable of conceiving the idea of a humanist logic that interested itself in the actual reasonings of men and their practical difficulties in attaining truth. And I would still urge that, for any one who wished to apprehend the real method of science and to appreciate its real difficulties, there is no better training ground than Psychical Research. For does it not stand to reason, if we stop to reflect for a moment, that the mind must become most poignantly conscious of its procedures and of the risks it runs, in a subject where everything may be tried and nothing may be taken for granted, where every step may go astray and the wildest guess may hit the mark, where every inference plainly has an emotional bearing and a practical interest which may make it or mar it, and where the whole field is permeated by violent prejudices which may at any point and to any extent distort and discredit the testimony on both sides of every question? Not a subject to attract the timid, but surely excellent to test one's logical head!

The last of these dangers was impressed on me very early. I had begun like the rest of us, with the assumption that the bias in the matter was all of one sort, and all in the direction of credulity. But I soon found out that there existed in some a will to disbelieve as strong as any will to believe. It was moreover much craftier and more difficult to discount, because it concealed itself under specious disguises and assumed an air of scientific rectitude. As psychical researchers did not then make sufficient allowance for the existence of this will to disbelieve and the obstacles which it placed in their path, I set myself to prove its existence. This was the logical aim of the questionnaire into the state of human sentiment about a future life, which, with the help of Richard Hodgson, I circulated more than twenty-five years ago.[1]

My next endeavor was to find a logic that would admit of adequate inquiry into the alleged facts of psychical phenomena, and this proved a difficult task. It was clear in the first place that the mind had to be purged of all *a priori* prejudices, among which were to be included most of the *a priori* "truths". This meant that the notion of *a priori* impossibility had to be cancelled; no scientific or philosophic principle must be regarded as so irrefragably established that it could not be conceived as modified, or even subverted, by an adequate amount of empirical evidence to the contrary. In this contention I may fairly

[1]For the results see the S. P. R. *Proceedings,* Part XLIX, and *Problems of Belief,* Chapter V.

claim to have been borne out by the best tendencies of modern science. The last thirty years have witnessed a renunciation by science of the absolute truth of Euclidean geometry and Newtonian physics, of the universality of the "law" of gravity, and of the indestructibility of matter, and the reduction of the conservation of energy to a methodological assumption or even friction. Modern science would no longer seriously boggle at what I should take as the first canon of psychical research, viz. that *nothing is incredible if the evidence for it is good enough.*

Many philosophers, no doubt, still cling to various sorts of *a priori,* for the sake of the power which they fancy it gives them over the sciences, and most logicians are reluctant to admit that the "laws" of Identity and Contradiction are not basic principles of reality but merely postulates of intelligible discourse; but the progressive sciences are growing more and more willing to examine *any* hypothesis, however shocking to our inherited prejudices, provided that it admits of experimental verification, and submits properly accredited evidence.

But of course the open-mindedness which comes from such complete empiricism is only the first requisite; the logic which is willing to look for empirical evidence must be followed up by a logic which is willing to let empirical evidence accumulate. And this meant running counter to a hoary prejudice which believed that empirical evidence could, and should, be "absolutely cogent". The traditional logic was so devoted to "ideals" that it hardly ever deigned to notice the actual, and the ideal of absolute proof was among the most misleading of its ideals. For it easily lent itself to the total suppression of cumulative evidence. Thus—if, for a truth to be "proved", it is necessary to find a case of its occurrence so "conclusive" that in no way and on no ground can any exception be taken to it, if in addition any case which falls short of this ideal may be rejected forthwith and forever as "inconclusive", it is clear that the accumulation of evidence is rendered impossible. For the ideally perfect or "conclusive" case cannot be got, and it is logical foolishness to expect it. Sufficiently violent assumptions of incompetence or fraud can always cast a slur upon the most impressive evidence, and render it inconclusive. If thereupon the inconclusive cases are not allowed to acquire collective weight and growing probability by corroborating one another, if, that is, logical accumulation is ruled out, each case can, and must, be condemned on its own shortcomings. And after it is gone, the

same destructive criticism can be applied to the next case, and will dispose of that with equal ease.

Clearly such canons of logical criticism have the effect of rendering empirical proof impossible; and as they originated in formal logic they may also be suspected of having been *intended* to have this effect. At any rate they proved potent to beguile and confuse even professed psychical researchers. It was by these methods, applied with the utmost ingenuity, that the late Frank Podmore was enabled to discard all the phenomena he did not wish to believe in; and only last summer, when I tried to bring a very authentic case of a "spirit-photograph" under the notice of Mr. Dingwall, the Research Officer of S. P. R., I was met by the reply that the case could not be published because it was not "conclusive", and that he had "thousands" of better cases. It seems imperative, therefore, to point out that the adoption of such impossible standards of proof is bound to stultify psychical research, and that their adoption is unscientific. No empirical science ever accepts such a handicap. No scientific theory is ever proved absolutely, or proved by any such *coup de théâtre;* it is high time that psychical researchers also learned that they must advance by the gradual accumulation of evidence and the slow growth of probabilities which increase the weight of one hypothesis, consolidate its superiority over its competitors, and finally lead to its overwhelming acceptance.

These logical blunders in the theory of scientific research, not only frustrated psychical research by setting up impossible standards, but, what was even worse, diverted attention from the removal of a real weakness which afflicted the subject. Psychical researchers have not so far attained to *experimental control* of the matters they are investigating. They do not know the conditions under which the phenomena they are trying to study are generated well enough to produce and examine them at will; so they remain collectors of data and observers, rather than experimenters. They are not able to observe what they like and as they like, and have to wait upon fortune and to make the most of the sporadic gifts she sends.

Now in itself this situation does not constitute a slur upon the scientific status of a subject. It is a condition in which all sciences find themselves at first, and in which some, like astronomy and medicine, must to a large extent, it seems, remain forever. But it necessarily renders scientific progress slow.

It is moreover a further consequence of this lack of experimental control over the phenomena that the severest and most trustworthy

of all the tests of truth, the pragmatic, cannot as yet be applied in Psychical Research. We cannot as yet maintain that psychic phenomena "work" so obviously and so surely that their reality is practically beyond dispute, and that disbelief in them has become merely silly, like disbelief in telegraphy. Telepathy is not yet a cheaper substitute for telegraphy, as it should be capable of becoming if the faculty could be controlled.

Yet here perhaps one exception may have to be recognised. Water-finding by "dowsers," a practice known since the days of Moses, appears to have won its way to commercial recognition; at any rate firms of well-sinkers find it profitable to employ dowsers, and will make contracts for sinking wells based upon such employment. Moreover these contracts seem very reasonable. They proceed on the principle, "No water, no pay!", and if the water is found at a greater depth than was predicted, they do not charge for the extra sinking. Moreover one frequently meets responsible persons who have been their clients and have obtained water supplies in this manner, often in unlikely places decried by geologists. I may mention, among my own friends, Dr. Bridges, the Poet-Laureate, and Dr. L. P. Jacks, the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal*. Clearly then dowsing is a supernormal faculty which does to some extent stand the pragmatic test; and this proves that psychical phenomena are not intrinsically unamenable to this test.

What I wish to infer from this case, and to impress on all psychical researchers as strongly as I can, is the enormous importance of rendering all psychical phenomena amenable to the pragmatic test. Its importance is not only practical, but also logical. That its practical importance is immense, it is easy to perceive. If the telepathic transmission of thoughts from one mind to another could be relied on, the revolution in all social relations would be incalculable. If dowsers could be trained to find metals and oil as well as water, multi-millionaires would spring up among them. And, conversely, the fact that they have not done so is a serious argument against the reality of dowsing. And if communication with the departed became easy and trustworthy, we should all find ourselves practically compelled to live differently. But the logical situation also would be transformed. If such psychic powers were common and in general use, it would no longer be possible to dispute their reality. And even if it were possible, it would not be worth while. Their *de facto* working would be infinitely more convincing than any amount of argumentation. So-

cieties for Psychical Research, therefore, would do well not to neglect entirely these practical applications of their inquiries. They have a real logical bearing upon the proof of psychical phenomena. This was the serious point I endeavored to make, perhaps in too frivolous a form, in the first number of the *Occult Review*.

On the *technique* of actual investigation I hardly feel competent to say very much. To be entitled to offer advice on this question I should have had far more experience in actual research than has fallen to my lot; and besides the actual *technique* has always to be adapted to the particular case. I will, therefore, venture to say only one thing. It does not seem to me that any one's judgment on any case of "mediumship" can be very valuable unless he has been able to subject it to repeated and prolonged examination. An attempt to pronounce judgment on a case, other than one of obvious fraud, after one or two sittings seems to be hardly fair, either to the medium or to the sitter. For the phenomena are still so capricious and uncontrollable that, with a small number of observations no theory can be confirmed, and both the hits and the blanks may need to be discounted as due to chance, while even the most intelligent inquirer can hardly reckon on detecting all the subtler possibilities of deception and fraud at a first glance. It is better, therefore, not to attempt investigation of a case at all, if adequate time and attention cannot be bestowed upon it.

On the other hand it may be useful to make some remarks on the competing interpretations of the cases where neither the good faith of the psychic nor the supernormal character of the phenomena is seriously open to dispute. Such cases are rare, but I do not stand alone in recognizing Mrs. Piper's as one of them. Granting the facts of such cases, and I have myself received information of which no normal explanation seems possible, the question arises, by what hypothesis are they to be interpreted? Now *prima facie* there are a number of possible hypotheses, and initially one of them may appeal more to one mind and another to another. At present these preferences are essentially differences of *taste,* for no one is able to adduce any cogent proof of the interpretation he prefers, or even to suggest any experiment which would decisively establish it. Yet the adherents of the rival hypotheses are very apt to quarrel and to waste upon their sterile disputes energy that would be much better bestowed upon investigation. Hence it seems sound advice to urge them not to let such differences obstruct investigation. For it is at present much

more important to establish and multiply the facts than to devise hypotheses for their "explanation."

A number of reasons may be assigned for this contention.

(1) If there is anything in Psychical Research at all, it opens up a region of unexplored possibilities so vast that the "facts" to be encountered in it are likely to be very various, very complicated, and very different from those most familiar to us. There is, therefore, ample room for the operations of a variety of heuristic hypotheses. One hypothesis may be best for the apprehension of one sort of "fact," another for another; all may have their uses. All may prove "true" in different parts of the field. Thus we need not deny that some of the phenomena seem quite definitely to suggest communications from the departed, because others, almost as definitely, do not. Nor are we entitled to assume that because our hypotheses now seem to us to be mutually exclusive, they will remain as exclusive as they look.

For (2) it is incumbent on us to remember that not only are the phenomena we are seeking to apprehend doubtful, vague, and elusive, but the hypotheses also by which we seek to apprehend them are similarly ill-defined. They deal in terms which are really unknown quantities to a large extent. To point this out has been a favorite objection to the spiritist interpretation. It is asked, "What is a spirit?" It is said that we know nothing about disembodied intelligences, and can form no conception of how they would operate or communicate. There is no harm in conceding some truth to such objections, if they are accompanied by willingness to *learn*. It is also true that we do not know nearly enough about *embodied* intelligences, and have hardly begun to study how *they* communicate their meanings. In any case do not similar objections hold against the terms used by the current alternatives to the spirit-hypothesis with at least equal force? We know nothing about the structural basis of the "telepathic" intercommunication of minds, though some of us are eager to snatch up any "ray" that the physicists discover, and to build upon it analogies which are far-fetched and likely to be false. Others glibly appeal to "the unconscious (or subconscious) mind," as if that term at once explained how conscious minds were rendered porous to each other's influence, and were not itself a first-class psychological *crux*. How are we to conceive the nature of unconscious mind, and to determine what it can do and what not? Yet others go still further, and gaily postulate a "cosmic reservoir" in which to store the records of all past events, and from which those fortunate enough to tap it

can draw unstinted draughts of potential omniscience. That would seem an excellent way of pooling all our difficulties, if only we could slur over the problem of intelligent *selection* from what would really be an enormous rubbish heap. Others again are disposed to imagine that "multiple personality" and "the dissociation of the self" yield the open sesame to all the mysteries; they have overlooked that no adequate account of personality is extant anywhere, and that the nature of the self has baffled every philosophy which has attempted to explain it. Lastly, it is very easy to allege the hypothesis of diabolical deception, and from its very nature impossible to confute it cogently; but are we justified in claiming to know so much about devils and their ways that we can really prove it from the facts? Even the most dogmatic theologians might find it hard to substantiate their claim that they were fully familiar with the diabolic nature, and trustworthy guides to its psychology. The truth is that devils have always been popular favorites in accounting for any oddity of nature; they, therefore, easily suggest themselves to a certain profession and to a certain type of mind. But scientific method has never found them a profitable hypothesis, and there is little reason to think that they will really work in Psychical Research.

(3) "Well, then, what conclusion would you draw from all this?" I may be asked. I can see no immediate probability of conducting crucial experiments that will establish or dismiss any or all of these hypotheses. They may all be right, and all be wrong—in part. They may all be tried by those who think it worth the while. They may all be of use in eliciting further facts.

Nor is there any reason why we should not try to bethink ourselves of further theories still unheard of. For the facts are certainly very strange, and may well be so alien to our present modes of thought that quite unfamiliar and unsuspected analogies may yield the clues. Even highly respectable sciences, with a long record of successful service, may at times find themselves embarrassed by the discovery of facts which they cannot dispute, and yet cannot interpret theoretically. At the present moment, for example, physics finds itself at a loss to supply a coherent theory for the facts of so familiar a phenomenon as light. Many of the known facts point to a wave theory of light, which only a few years ago was generally believed to have been finally proved; others fit only into an emission theory; but no known theory will cover all the known facts, and no way of rendering wave theories compatible with emission theories has yet been devised. There is

nothing for it but to go on using both theories, without committing oneself to either, using each for the phenomena which seem amenable to treatment by it, and to trust to time and future discoveries to hit upon a hypothesis which works completely and is really adequate.

I would suggest, therefore, that if such a procedure and such a situation is not beneath the dignity of so triumphant a science as physics, it is as much as can be expected from so humble and so disputed an aspirant to scientific status as Psychical Research. It would be rash, as things are, and it is logically quite unnecessary, for us to pin our faith on any theory. For the degree of confidence we have in it does not affect its power to explain. It is possible to use a hypothesis without believing in it very much, to hold it experimentally and heuristically, and to value it only so far as it works. Let us, therefore, go on using any conception and any hypothesis that looks promising, likely to help us in apprehending a very elusive mass of apparent facts and to be fertile in suggesting fresh experiments and in exploring fresh regions of fact. It seems probable enough that the facts will long continue to seem bizarre and incredible and chaotic; but our faith in Scientific Method should embolden us to believe that, if we go on, we shall find a way, even through the thickest jungle. It is the scientific will to find a way which has hitherto been lacking.

I trust that I have made it intelligible how it is that I am still a psychical researcher, even as I was forty years ago. But I am distressed to find at the end of this lecture that I can conclude with nothing better than a profession of faith. For faith should come at the beginning of a scientific inquiry, not at the end. At the end we should be harvesting its fruits. But when I consider the early history of other sciences and their agelong gropings, I do not despair. Physics blundered about with plausible but futile antitheses like the hot and the cold, the dense and the rare, the light and the heavy, for thousands of years, before it entered on the path of steady progress with the mechanical hypothesis and the experimental method. Psychology is more than two thousand years old, but in spite of the utmost ingenuity and assiduity of its practitioners it is engaged upon the preliminary operation of naming its phenomena, a business Adam is supposed to have performed for zoology before he quitted Paradise, and is still divided into a number of schools endeavoring in various ways to find conceptions and methods which will enable it to control the mental life it studies. In Psychical Research we are now, at last and for the first time in history, setting about our task in the right

spirit and in the right way. I shall cherish the hope that this debate, initiated by Clark University, will conduce to a much-needed clearing up of ideas and aims, and will mark a definite, and perhaps a great advance in man's attitude towards an elusive, but fascinating and enormously important field of potential knowledge.

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PART III

Unconvinced as Yet

CHAPTER XI

METAPSYCHICS AND THE INCREDULITY OF PSYCHOLOGISTS

By John E. Coover

In a recent article,[1] suggesting an admirable metapsychic experiment, Dr. Gehrhardt reiterates " the wonder with which one must regard the opposition of official science, particularly psychology, to the new field." The opposition of the psychologist is probably stronger than that of his fellow scientists because much of the detail in his particular field of knowledge has an especial pertinence to the evidence and methods of metapsychics. To understand his position, however, it is necessary first to examine the opposition of "official science", which he shares, and which springs from a persistent, sometimes described as an "obstinate," incredulity.

It is a fact that official science regards the phenomena of metapsychics with incredulity. It is an old fact. Official science was incredulous in 1848 when the Rochester Knockings began with Catherine and Margaret Fox; it was still incredulous thirty-four years later, when Professor Henry Sidgwick in the first Presidential Address before the Society for Psychical Research said, "I say it is a scandal that the dispute as to the reality of these phenomena should still be going on, that so many competent witnesses should have declared their belief in them, that so many others should be profoundly interested in having the question determined, and yet that the educated world, as a body, should still be simply in an attitude of incredulity." There followed the further accumulations of evidence for a period of forty-four years, and René Sudre,[2] in an address delivered in the Amphitheatre of Medicine (College of France, in Paris), under the auspices of the School of Psychology, on March 22, 1926, exclaimed:

Now the facts of metapsychics are reported by scientists who, from Crookes to Richet, are entirely accustomed to observe natural phe-

[1]W. F. Gehrhardt, Sc.D.: A metapsychic experiment. Jr. Am. S. P. R., August, 1926, 20:502.

[2]René Sudre: Psychical research and scientific opinion. Jr. Am. S. P. R., June, 1926, vol. 20, pp. 333-342. Sudre is editor of the *Revue Metapsychique.*

nomena. Why, then, does their incorporation into academic science meet such resistance?

Thus the results of all the researches in metapsychics during the past three-quarters of a century have failed to break down the incredulity of official science. Still more definitely, official science does not accept a single phenomenon of any one of the three or four classes of metapsychic phenomena, notwithstanding that some men of science who have engaged in metapsychic investigation claim for many of the phenomena of the several classes "irrefragable" and "incontrovertible" "proof."

What is the cause of this persistent incredulity of official science? Interested metapsychists have repeatedly faced this question, and offered answers; for they know that "the final test for truth is the agreement of experts," that the standard of evidence must be drawn from the recognized sciences, and that to prevent a miserable failure metapsychics must produce evidence that will convince the scientific world. To remove this incredulity, its cause must be found and removed. Until this is done, metapsychics stands without the pale of the accredited sciences. This is the most serious problem of metapsychics. It has always been its most important problem, whether fully recognized or not, and as the years of opportunity have passed, and the incredulity of official science has remained persistent, it has become more and more serious, acute, menacing. For half a century, there has been earnest and persistent, individual and collective, effort to adopt and maintain scientific standards in metapsychic research, to make metapsychic research indistinguishable from scientific research, in the hope of solving this problem, of winning an honored place among the established sciences,—without avail.

Various causes of the incredulity of official science are suggested by recent writers. René Sudre says that

> the skeptics' negation is an *a priori* one; a state of mind arising out of no conscientious examination of the facts... Telepathy and clairvoyance are no longer seriously denied by anybody... We wish a scientific audience. We demand but a simple effort of good will—yes, let us say it, of honesty; for it is not honest to deny without trying to examine fairly.

He thinks official science is incredulous because, (1) it fears miracles, fears facts refractory to accepted principles; (2) its philosophy is materialistic, regarding mind as epiphenomenal, and the laws of material science as inviolate and alone competent to explain

all the phenomena of the universe; and (3) its repugnance for phenomena long associated with superstition, arising from his knowledge (a) of the role of illusion and fraud, (b) of the will to believe, (c) of the concomitant variation between precautions against fraud and sparsity of phenomena, (d) of the uniform failure of noteworthy decisive tests.

He discounts these reasons for incredulity, on the grounds that new phenomena are being constantly assimilated by official science, that biological and psychological phenomena are granted principles that range beyond the laws of material science, that the disputed phenomena have been witnessed by eminent scientists, such as Crookes and Richet. The causes of incredulity he is able to find do not seem to him adequate. There is an element of culpable negligence in the attitude of official science, a taint of dishonesty. His cure would be persuasion, further exposition of results of metapsychic experiments of the same character as those past and current.

Charles Richet, the eminent physiologist, in a recently published treatise on metapsychics[3] presents the arguments of official science against objective metapsychics: The more latitude for fraud the more apparent are the phenomena; all mediums have been caught in conscious or unconscious deception, hence fraud is always possible; unless one is versed in legerdemain he cannot imagine how completely an observer can be duped; no observer can maintain continuous attention during the two or three hours of a séance; etc., and he says, "These doubts have occurred to me hundreds of times, and I know, better than anyone else, the full force of these arguments. Nevertheless, I do not think them well founded, and I am firmly convinced that there are real physical metapsychic phenomena."

Richet confesses that the innumerable experiments published by eminent men of science would not have convinced him, if he had not himself been a witness of the four fundamental facts of Metapsychics. He says he was an unwilling witness, very critical, distrustful of the facts that forced themselves upon him. That he, nevertheless, was able to verify those facts, under exceptional conditions, and despite his desire to disprove them. They determined his belief, "and that not at once, but after long consideration, meditation, and repetition." The phenomena to which Richet gives credence, because he has verified them, are

[3]Charles Richet: Thirty Years of Psychical Research. Macmillan, 1923, 15+646.

1. *Cryptesthesia*: A faculty of cognition that differs radically from the usual sensorial faculties. A sample of evidence: Stella, in the presence of G., whose family she does not know and *cannot* have known, gave the first names of his son, of his wife, of a deceased brother, of a living brother, of his father-in-law, and of the locality where he lived as a child.

2. *Telekinesis*: Raps and the movement of objects without contact. While Eusapia's head and hands were held, a large melon weighing six pounds was moved from the sideboard to the table, the distance between them being over a yard.

3. *Ectoplasms*: Hands, bodies, and objects seem to take shape in their entirety from a cloud and take all the semblance of life. Eusapia was in half-light, her left hand in my right, and her right in my left tightly held, and before Lodge, Myers, and Ochorowics, a third hand stroked my face, pinched my nose, pulled my hair, and gave a smack on my shoulder heard by Ochorowics, Myers, and Lodge.

4. *Premonitions*: That cannot be explained by chance or perspicacity, and are sometimes verified in minute detail. Alice, at 2 p.m. told me, for the first and only time, that I should soon give way to violent anger before one, two, three persons whom she designated with her hand as if she saw them. At 6 p.m. the unlikely and unforeseeable impertinence of a person absolutely unknown to Alice provoked me to one of the strongest and most justifiable fits of anger of my whole life before two other persons, an anger that led to my receiving a challenge to a duel, the only one I have ever received.

Richet in his Treatise on Metapsychics has brought together the tremendous amount of evidence that has accumulated during the past three-quarters of a century, organized it, and indexed it with approximately 1800 names. He says he "tried to extricate the sciences anathematized as occult from chaos, and to put in a clear light knowledge that official science, in its pride of reputation, has refused to consider. It has seemed to me that the time has come to claim for metapsychics a place among the recognized sciences by making it conform to the rigor and the logical treatment which have given them their authority.

He recognizes that "scientific men will be surprised, and perhaps indignant"; but he thinks that a study of the evidence he presents will shake their incredulity. Since the facts are very strange, however, "and clash with current scientific dogmas, the affirmations made will give rise to strongly adverse criticism and to mocking incredulity." He then presents strong argument for the acceptance of metapsychic phenomena:

There are too many well-verified facts and rigorously conducted

experiments that chance, illusion, or fraud should always be attributed to all these facts and experiments without exception. (p. 595)

It is not possible that all these observers [200 competent scientists, and a thousand others] should never have made mistakes, but the whole constitutes a sheaf of testimony so large and homogeneous that no criticism of details, however acute, will be able to disintegrate and disperse. (p. 599)

To suppose that all metapsychics are but illusion is to suppose that [twenty named eminent scientists] were all, without exception, liars or imbeciles; it is to suppose that two hundred distinguished observers less eminent, perhaps, but persons of high and acute intelligence, were also liars or imbeciles. (p. 600)

I shall refer later to the sheaf of testimony as the "fagot theory", and consider the possibility of complete and wholesale delusion.

Richet is candid and forceful. He points out that the business of science is to establish positive facts, not to formulate negations; that at every moment she is confronted with profound mysteries.

Therefore when new facts supported by many irrefragable proofs are brought forward, the new facts being positive facts that do not contradict old positive facts, lovers of truth ought to bow before them and receive them joyfully. (p. 600)

To admit telekinesis and ectoplasms is not to destroy even the smallest fragment of science; it is but to admit new data, and that these are unknown energies. ...That a hand having all the attributes of a living hand should be formed from a whitish cloud in no way nullifies the laws of circulation, nutrition, and structure of a normal hand. It is a new fact but not a contradictory one. (p. 601)

Richet freely grants that these phenomena are not understood; that "the more we try to analyze Cryptesthesia the less we understand it" (p. 614); "its modalities and its mechanism escape us entirely." (p. 615). And, "as regards the substance of materializations our ignorance is painful." (p. 476). He is sanguine, however, of important contributions to scientific knowledge, and declares, "We must advance resolutely, using exact scientific methods." (p. 624).

Richet pleads for the acceptance of the phenomena on the grounds of the evidence for their occurrence, not because they are in any way understood. This appears to be a curious position, and raises a question concerning the quality of the evidence. If the evidence for occurrence is sound, scientific results are already obtained, and no anxiety should be felt lest they be disregarded by official science. Resolute advance, by "using scientific methods", would make important contributions to scientific knowledge, and the incredulity of official science would gradually disappear. But is the evidence for a phe-

nomenon really sound if nothing concerning the phenomenon is revealed but its occurrence? Is this not the essential characteristic of illusion and hallucination? Official science quite probably takes this stand.

II

Whatever the causes the metapsychists find responsible for the obstinate incredulity of official science, they are weighed and found wanting; and it is possible either that undiscovered causes remain, or that there is some error in estimating the weight of those found.

The conservatism of official science in its admission of new facts is a natural precaution against error and the waste of time and energy. The evidence for the new phenomenon will have had to meet the requirements for rigorous proof. It is a curious fact that during the past half-century, many new facts have been presented with proper credentials and have been admitted; some of them were very strange and were revolutionary in their effects upon current laws of nature, but none of them were metapsychic. Conservatism cannot be an unjust cause of the incredulity.

General indifference of official science to metapsychic phenomena may be granted, but the indifference has not been complete. For three-quarters of a century distinguished men of science have given occasional professional attention to them and have investigated them —with negative results. And many other intelligent observers have from time to time seen and reported natural methods of producing what were currently accepted as supernormal phenomena.

The persistence of this stream of negative evidence has had the effect of strengthening the incredulity of official science:

1. Fraud is not only frequent and general, but it is witnessed and published.

2. Astute, and sometimes eminent, observers—even scientists—witness the same phenomena and pronounce them metapsychic.

3. Some of the more eminent scientists have persisted in maintaining the validity of their observations at the same time that they were cognizant of the adverse reports of other observers upon the same phenomena, and cognizant of the disabilities of observation and report of phenomena produced under the identically restricted conditions, pointing with confidence to the corroboration of their observations by independent witnesses in other places at other times.

4. A reliance upon the corroboratory testimony of others often increases the confidence of a scientist in his own observations to the

extent of weakening the rigor with which he may reasonably be expected to guard against fraud.

The application of each of these four points may be shown in the investigation of "raps", for which eminent scientists have presented "irrefragable proof," and which of all telekinetic phenomena Richet wisely suggests are most worthy of study. The observations upon raps will also illustrate the effect of the stream of negative evidence upon the incredulity of official science.

It will be recalled that raps started the movement known as Modern Spiritualism, in Hydesville, New York, in March, 1848, in a family consisting of John D. Fox, his wife Margaret, and their two younger daughters, Margaret aged fourteen, and Catherine aged twelve. Owing to the annoyance of curious crowds that swarmed the premises, Kate was sent to the neighboring city of Rochester to stay with her sister Mrs. Fish, and Maggie was sent to her brother's farm. The raps followed the girls and the Rochester Knockings soon became the object of public investigation. Three public meetings were held in Corinthian Hall, in November, 1848, to receive the reports of investigating committees appointed from the floor. With each report confessing failure to determine a natural cause for the raps, the excitement grew until it flared into a sensation that spread over the world and, much abated, has continued to the present time.

(1) The chairman of the last Committee was Dr. E. P. Langworthy, a young physician in Rochester, who took further opportunity to investigate these raps, and reported his results to the New York *Excelsior,* February 2, 1850. The knockings were always under the Fox girls' feet, or if upon doors or tables their dresses were in contact with the objects rapped. He concluded that the mysterious rapping was so intimately connected with the persons of these girls that they voluntarily produced them.

(2) John W. Hurn, of Rochester, wrote a number of articles to the New York *Tribune,* during January and February, 1850. He related that the Fox girls could get no sounds when they were completely isolated from the floor, claimed that the whole affair was the most miserable imposition ever attempted upon a civilized community, that he had entered into an agreement with the girls to procure ink to use on walls that would appear visible after a short time, and to deliver spirit blows to the heads of sitters.

(3) The Rev. John M. Austin, of Auburn, wrote to the *Tribune,* March 27, 1850, saying that he had been three times to hear the sounds, but thought they were made by human agency. He had reliable information that "persons in Auburn" could make all these knockings with the cracking of the toe joints, without any movement the eye can detect.

(4) The Rev. Dr. Potts delivered a lecture in Rochester in December, 1850, announcing the toe-joint theory. He stood upon the stage in Corinthian Hall and demonstrated the raps by cracking his toes.

(5) The Rev. C. Chauncey Burr wrote to the New York *Tribune,* January 2, 1851, saying that he not only discovered how the rappings are produced, but by much practice he learned to produce them himself, in a manner that no person could detect, if he chose to impose upon his credulity, and so loud that they were heard in every part of a hall crowded with an audience of a thousand people. He made the raps by snapping the toe-joints.

(6) Three Buffalo University professors, Austin Flint, M.D., Charles A. Lee, M.D., and C. B. Coventry, M.D., investigated the raps of Margaret Fox in the Phelps House and reported their results to the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* February 18, 1851, and the Buffalo *Medical Journal* for March. They immediately saw by observing the countenance that the raps were the result of voluntary effort, and concluded that they were made by the dislocation of bones at the joints: knees, ankles, toes, or hips. They studied the mechanism in a patient who could make the raps with her knee-joints and made a medical report. They observed that the anatomical and physiological books had neglected articular sounds—a circumstance that permitted the deception practiced by the Fox girls to gain headway.

(7) At another sitting at the Phelps House, for the purpose of resisting the damaging report of the Buffalo Professors, Mrs. Fish and Margaret Fox produced phenomena in profusion for the gratification of friends and believers. But that sitting is listed here because a frank reason was given for a cardinal principle of control in the séance: Question: What is the use of these demonstrations? Answer: They are made to prove the mediums have no agency in it. Mr. Stringham: May I leave the table whilst the others remain, that I may look under and see the bells ring? Answer: What do you think we require you to sit close to the table for? When spirits make these physical demonstrations they are compelled to assume shapes which the human eyes must not look upon.

(8) Mrs. Culver, a relative by marriage to the Fox girls, made a signed statement before witnesses April 17, 1851, explaining the fraud. She had helped Catherine by touching her when the right letters came in the calling of the alphabet, and Catherine showed her how to make the raps by snapping the toes. She also said that Margaret told her that when people insisted on seeing her feet and toes, she could produce a few raps with her knees and ankles.

(9) Professor Henry and Professor Page, of the Smithsonian Institute, visited the Fox sisters when they were in Washington, in February, 1853. Professor Page published the results of his observations in a book issued later in the year. He remarked that he was surprised to notice how the scrutinizing powers of the most astute fail as soon as they entertain the remotest idea of the supernatural in

these cases. After many experiments, he concluded definitely that the sounds were entirely at the control of the girls. Every rap was attended with a slight movement of the person of the rapper. A very distinct motion of the dress was visible about the right hypogastric region. He declared that there was no necessity for wonderment on account of the rapping sounds so long as one is excluded from a personal examination of the rappers.

(10) Rev. H. O. Sheldon, of Berea, Ohio, spent some time investigating the subject. The mediums that he detected rapped by snapping their toes.

(11) Three Professors of Harvard College, Agassiz, Peirce, and Horsford, composed a part of an investigating committee appointed to pass upon phenomena offered to win a prize of five hundred dollars put up by the Boston *Courier,* in June, 1857. Mrs. Leah Fox Fish Brown and Catherine Fox were the first mediums to be employed. Agassiz declared with emphasis that there was an easy physiological explanation of all the effects that the Fox sisters, or any other rappers, produced. The Editor, Mr. George Lunt, issued a report in a pamphlet dated 1859. Whenever conditions were favorable for observation, the raps did not come; when they were not, they came in profusion. Mr. Clark, assistant to Agassiz, produced raps on a box with his knuckles in a way that could not be detected. Agassiz said the taps of the mediums were produced by the bones of the feet.

(12) The Seybert Commission of the University of Pennsylvania investigated the raps produced through Margaret Fox Kane, in November, 1884, and "Dr." Henry Slade, in February, 1885. Professor Furness placed his hand upon one of the feet of Margaret Fox and distinctly felt pulsations in her foot, but no movement, while the raps were being produced. Both Miss Fox and Slade knew when other raps than their own were produced, no matter how similar in sound.

(13) In May, 1888, Margaret Fox Kane sent from London a letter to the New York *Herald,* in which she said, "Spiritualism is a curse... Fanatics like Mr. Luther R. Marsh, Mr. John L. O'Sullivan, ex-Minister to Portugal, and hundreds equally as learned, ignore the 'rappings' (which is the only part of the phenomena that is worthy of notice) and rush madly after the glaring humbugs that flood New York... Like old Judge Edmonds and Mr. Seybert, of Philadelphia, they become crazed, and at the direction of their fraud 'mediums' they are induced to part with all their worldly possessions as well as their common sense..."

(14) After coming to New York, Margaret Fox Kane granted an interview to the New York *Herald,* in August, 1888, in which she said she was going to expose spiritualism from its very foundation. She loathed the thing she had been during her years of deception. She proposed to expose the raps to the public, and produced raps for the reporter on the floor near his feet, under his chair, under a table, on the other side of the door, on the legs of a piano.

(15) On October 21, 1888, Margaret appeared at the Academy of Music in New York before a large audience, enunciated her solemn abjuration of spiritualism: "That I have been chiefly instrumental in perpetrating the fraud of spiritualism upon a too confiding public, most of you doubtless know. ...The greatest sorrow of my life has been that this is true, and though it has come late in my day, I am now prepared to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth,—so help me God!"... A plain wooden stool, resting upon four short legs, was placed before her. Removing her shoe, she placed her right foot upon this table. The entire house became breathlessly still, and was rewarded by a number of little short, sharp raps—those mysterious sounds which for more than forty years frightened and bewildered hundreds of thousands of people in this country and Europe. A committee, consisting of three physicians taken from the audience, then ascended to the stage, and having made an examination of her foot during the progress of the 'rappings,' unhesitatingly agreed that the sounds were made by the action of the first joint of her large toe.

(16) In this confession Margaret Fox Kane had the support of her sister, Kate Fox Jencken, who had recently returned from Europe and who sat in a box during the abjuration and demonstration.

(17) *Kate Fox Jencken* also granted an independent interview to the New York papers in which she said: "Spiritualism is a humbug from beginning to end... The manifestations at Hydesville in 1848 were all humbuggery, every bit of them... *I certainly know that every so-called manifestation produced through me in London or anywhere else was a fraud.* The time has come for Maggie and me to set ourselves right before the world...and not leave this base fabric of deceit behind us unexposed."

It is true that these mothers of spiritism were declared completely unbalanced, that fast living had destroyed their judgment and blunted their moral sense, and that their confessions were fraudulent. But there is a completely corroborative fact that is decisive in its support of the confessions And it has been almost wholly overlooked. When Margaret Fox and her mother were in Philadelphia, engaged in "spiritualistic manifestations," in 1852, Margaret met Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, the intrepid arctic explorer. He was much struck with her naïveté and her danger. Margaret was eighteen and beautiful. In a letter to her he described his first impression of her: "A little Priestess, cunning in the mysteries of her temple, and weak in everything but the power with which she played her part. A sentiment almost of pity stole over his worldly heart as he saw through her disguise." He sought to remove her from her life of deception, and from the influence of her elder sister Mrs. Leah Fox Fish Brown Underhill. He wrote many letters to both herself and Kate, warning

them of the dangers ahead of them, pleading with them to turn to a good life before the shackles became too strong, and offering them help. They agreed, and he put Margaret in school; Katie had promised to live with them after Dr. Kane married Margaret. He was especially fearful that the "rappings" would be found out, and adjured them to remain faithful to their promise not to have anything to do with séances anymore. He returned from his second expedition, married Margaret, and died.

(18) Margaret Fox Kane, in 1888, said: "From the first of our intimate acquaintance, Dr. Kane knew that the 'rappings' which I practiced were fraudulent... I simply obeyed the impulse of my candid regard for him, when the knowledge of his devotion grew upon me, and confided to him the whole secret of the fraud, together with my increasing repugnance to the life I was living."

Here was an early confession not only made but acted upon. The Fox girls only repeated it to the public forty-five years later in New York.

This is a part of the stream of negative evidence that undoubtedly supported the incredulity of official science concerning the supernormal nature of spiritualistic raps. And it might well extend to other telekinetic phenomena, or to any "manifestations" through the Fox sisters, the greatest mediums of the early days, in spite of the eminence of the witnesses.

In the statements of Kate Fox Jencken quoted above she explains that *all* the phenomena (including raps) ever produced anywhere through her were fraudulent. Let us now examine the records of observations of her phenomena written by an eminent man of science who made "Researches in the Phenomena of Spiritualism" during 1871-74:

With mediums, generally it is necessary to sit for a formal séance before anything is heard; but in the case of Miss Fox it seems only necessary for her to place her hand on any substance for loud thuds to be heard in it, like a triple pulsation, sometimes loud enough to be heard several rooms off. In this manner I have heard them in a living tree, on a sheet of glass, on a stretched iron wire, on a stretched membrane, on a tambourine, on the roof of a cab, and on the floor of a theatre. Moreover, actual contact is not always necessary: I have had these sounds proceeding from the floor, walls, etc., when the medium's hands and feet were held, when she was standing on a chair, when she was enclosed in a wire cage, and when she had fallen fainting on a sofa. I have heard them on a glass harmonicon, I have felt them on my own shoulder and under my own hands. I have heard them on a sheet of paper, held between the fingers by a piece of thread

passed through one corner. *With a full knowledge of the numerous theories which have been started, chiefly in America, to explain these sounds, I have tested them in every way that I could devise, until there has been no escape from the conviction that they were true objective occurrences not produced by trickery or mechanical means.* (p. 86-88)[4]

Crookes' observations on Ectoplasm through Kate Fox:

The first instance which I shall give took place, it is true, at a dark séance, but the result was not less satisfactory on that account. I was sitting next to the medium, Miss Fox, the only other persons present being my wife and a lady relative, and I was holding the medium's two hands in one of mine, whilst her feet were resting on my feet. Paper was on the table before us, and my disengaged hand was holding a pencil.

A luminous hand came down from the upper part of the room, and after hovering near me for a few seconds, took the pencil from my hand, rapidly wrote on a sheet of paper, threw the pencil down, and then rose up over our heads, gradually fading into darkness. (p. 91)[4]

Crookes' observations on Telekinesis through Kate Fox:

Miscellaneous occurrences of a complex character.—Under this heading I propose to give several occurrences which cannot be otherwise classified owing to their complex character. Out of more than a dozen cases, I will select two. The first occurred in the presence of Miss Kate Fox. To render it intelligible I must enter into some details.

Miss Fox had promised to give me a séance at my house one evening in the spring of last year. Whilst waiting for her, a lady relative, with my two eldest sons, aged fourteen and eleven, were sitting in the dining-room, where the séances were always held, and I was sitting by myself, writing in the library. Hearing a cab drive up and the bell ring, I opened the door to Miss Fox, and took her directly into the dining-room. She said she would not go upstairs, as she could not stay very long, but laid her bonnet and shawl on a chair in the room. I then went to the dining-room door, and telling the two boys to go into the library and proceed with their lessons, I closed the door behind them, locked it, and (according to my usual custom at séances) put the key in my pocket.

We sat down, Miss Fox being on my right hand and the other lady on my left. An alphabetic message was soon given to turn the gas out, and we thereupon sat in total darkness, I holding Miss Fox's two hands in one of mine the whole time. Very soon a message was given in the following words: "We are going to bring something to show our power;" and almost immediately afterwards we all heard the tinkling of a bell, not stationary, but moving about in all parts of

[4]William Crookes: Researches in the phenomena of spiritualism. London: Burns, 1874.

the room; at one time by the wall, at another in a further corner of the room, now touching me on the head, and now tapping against the floor. After ringing about the room in this manner for fully five minutes, it fell upon the table close to my hands.

During the time this was going on no one moved, and Miss Fox's hands were perfectly quiet. I remarked that it could not be my little hand-bell which was ringing, for I left that in the library. (Shortly before Miss Fox came I had occasion to refer to a book which was lying on a corner of a book-shelf. The bell was on the book, and I put it on one side to get the book. That little incident had impressed on my mind the fact of the bell being in the library.) The gas was burning brightly in the hall outside the dining-room door, so that this could not be opened without letting light into the room, even had there been an accomplice in the house with a duplicate key, which there certainly was not.

I struck a light. There, sure enough, was my own bell lying on the table before me. I went straight into the library. A glance showed me that the bell was not where it ought to have been. I said to my eldest boy, "Do you know where my little bell is?" "Yes, papa," he replied, "there it is," pointing to where I had left it. He looked up as he said this, and then continued, "No—it's not there, but it was there a little time ago." "How do you mean?—has anyone come in and taken it?" "No," said he, "no one has been in; but I am sure it was there, because when you sent us in here out of the dining-room, J. (the youngest boy) began ringing it so that I could not go on with my lessons, and I told him to stop." J. corroborated this, and said that, after ringing it, he put the bell down where he had found it. (pp. 96-98)[4]

Why should official science be expected to accept the fact of telekinesis, upon the basis of "irrefragable proof" of rapping or other phenomena produced through the mediumship of Kate Fox? William Crookes does not stand alone in disclaiming the *possibility* of a natural agency. Very probably the larger proportion of the 13,000 signers of the Memorial to Congress, in 1854, could have testified to the raps through this same medium—producing "a sheaf of testimony" unexampled by any other. Is it not possible that all of the witnesses for their supernormal nature have been wrong in each and every instance? The fagot theory is dangerous.

If such is the case with the phenomena of the Fox sisters, can the phenomena of other mediums be regarded free from suspicion, even though "irrefragable proof" is offered by eminent scientists for them?

In most of the summaries of evidence, phenomena of "Dr." Henry Slade, Miss Florence Cook, Daniel Dunglas Home, and Eusapia

Palladino are included. Official science has some negative evidence on all of them.

It is well known that the great Slade was a notorious and resourceful imposter, and we may record a few of the counts against him:

(1) In 1872, Henry Slade was caught in fraud in New York by John W. Truesdell, who had two sittings with him. Clasping the medium's hands at the small séance table, and being held close to it, Truesdell felt something touching him and pulling at his clothing as if there was some one under the table; directly, the thing came up into his lap. Slade said it was a materialized spirit-hand. A surreptitious glance, hardly won, indicated a foot. Watching his opportunity, when the "spirit-hand" was playing its most venturesome tricks, Truesdell suddenly recoiled from the table...just in time to see the "Doctor's" left foot withdraw from his lap to the medium's slipper. He saw plainly the movements of the cords in the medium's wrist when the "spirits" were producing slate-writing. At the second sitting, that took place months later, T. refused to give his name, but left in his overcoat the name of Samuel Johnson. While waiting for the medium he noticed a slate hidden under a low sideboard, covered with a stock message, and upon it he wrote a second message in a bold hand: "Henry! Look out for this fellow—he is up to snuff! Alcinda" (the name of Slade's deceased wife). In the sitting, T. got a message from "Mary Johnson" on the first slate. The next slate fell to the floor, and, when regained, presented the double message on the substituted slate: Slade was at first furious, but he quickly recovered, acknowledged T. as a great medium, and they exchanged tricks.

(2) In 1876, Henry Slade was unmasked in London by Professor Lankester and Dr. Donkin. They caught him in the act of substituting a slate upon which a "spirit message" had been prepared. Criminal prosecution followed. After a trial at Bow Street Police Court lasting three days, Slade was sentenced to three months' hard labor. He took appeal, which was sustained, on the ground that the words "by palmistry or otherwise" had been omitted in the indictment. Before he could be arrested on the new summons, Slade fled to the continent, in 1877, and presented himself to Professor Zöllner at Leipzig.

(3) In 1882, Henry Slade was caught in fraud in Belleville, Ontario. Dr. Abbott saw Slade's heel making the raps against the rung of his chair. Mr. James Starling, when touched under the table by an ectoplasmic hand, suddenly raised his right foot; the "hand" felt like the calf of a leg, and on Slade's countenance there was an expression of pain. Mr. A. McGinnis saw the slate passing under the table on Slade's left foot. Chief McKinnon detected Slade causing telekinetic phenomena on a chair with his toe. They saw him writing "spirit messages," and saw him substituting slates. They confronted him with his fraud, and upon his confession and his accom-

modatingly showing them his tricks, they permitted him to catch the noon train for the East.

(4) In 1885, Henry Slade was caught in fraud by the Seybert Commission. They saw his slates with prepared messages, they saw him substituting the slates, they saw him making scratching motions with his thumb to simulate spirit writing. At the moment a slate had been substituted, in preparation for the long process of getting spirit writing, Professor Sellers asked: "Dr. Slade, will you allow me to see that slate?" The reply was, "No, not now; the conditions are not favorable." Professor Furness, the great Shakespearian scholar, had seen the prepared message on that slate. At the close of their investigation Professor Sellers said: "The methods of this medium's operations appear to me to be perfectly transparent, and I wish to say emphatically that I am astonished beyond expression at the confidence of this man in his ability to deceive, and at the recklessness of the risks which he assumes in his deceptions, which are practiced in the most barefaced manner."

(5) In 1886, Slade created a furore in Hamburg among the spiritualists. But he balked at tests, and was out-conjured there. Dr. Borchert wrote to Slade offering him one thousand marks if he would produce writing between locked slates, similar to the writing alleged to have been executed at the Zöllner séances. The medium took no notice of the professor's letter. Slade could do nothing in the presence of the conjurer Carl Wilmann, and the conjurer Schradieck eclipsed Slade in his own tricks, making use of a "spirit hand" by means of his left foot, just as Slade did.

Daniel Dunglas Home is said never to have publicly exposed in fraud, which may have been owing to the special protection afforded him by his peculiar social relations that made his observers his hosts. Nevertheless, there are reported charges of suspicious circumstances against him:

(1) A spirit hand that could be seen against the faint light of the window appeared and disappeared at the edge of the table. It was observed to be continuous with Home's body: "The situation at this point struck me so forcibly—the trick so plain to my eyes and the reverential and adoring expression of the company—...that I was seized with a strong impulse to laugh."

(2) Delia Logan, the journalist, in writing of one of Home's séances at the house of a nobleman in London, says that the medium failing to produce balls of fire tried for luminous hands. In the darkened house Home groped his way alone to the head of the broad staircase where every few minutes a pair of luminous hands were thrown up. The audience was satisfied generally. But the host stood near the mantel piece and had seen Home abstractedly place a small bottle upon it; he slipped the bottle into his pocket, and upon examination found it to contain phosphorated oil. He had seen

Home's marvels and had testified to them freely, but after the discovery of the phosphorous trick he dropped him at once.

(3) Solovovo wrote that it had always seemed to him that action by Home's feet was often not a very improbable hypothesis, and that detailed descriptions, even those of Sir William Crookes, were extremely faulty in this particular respect. That the spirit hand was not a stuffed glove, at least when it worked under the table, is seen from Aksakoff's description: "Tender but firm fingers began to work, trying to take off the ring;... and I was fully convinced these were living, warm, thin human fingers." There was no mention of the control of Home's feet, however. All these omissions are very unfortunate.

(4) In the action brought by Mrs. Jane Lyon, in 1867, against Home, for the recovery of some £30,000, the testimony convicted him of culpable fraud. Through "spirit messages" from the deceased husband, Home induced the lady to (a) adopt him as her son, (b) set aside £24,000 to yield him an annual income of £700, (c) make a will giving him the arms and name of Lyon and all the property, and (d) make him a birthday present of £6,800. After ten days of trial, Vice-Chancellor Giffard decreed that the gifts and deeds were fraudulent and void.

(5) Home refused Mr. Addison's offer of £50 to float in the air in his presence; and he declined the Emperor Napoleon's proposal for Robert Houdin, the conjurer, to be present at one of his séances.

Miss Florence Cook and Miss Showers appear to have given séances together which permitted Serjeant Cox to study their materialized spirits and led to the consequent exposure of Miss Showers in April, 1874.

(1) Cox studied the "spirits," "Katie" and "Florence," moving about together in a lighted room; he saw that they could breathe, talk, perspire, and eat; and that in face, complexion, gesture, and voice, they precisely resembled the two mediums who were asserted to be lying entranced behind the curtains. When the form of "Florence" appeared in the aperture between the curtains, Mrs. Edwards opened the curtains wider. In the spirit's struggles to prevent this, the head-dress fell off, and revealed the spirit's head as that of Miss Showers. The chair where the medium should have been sitting was seen to be empty. The medium was masquerading as a spirit.

(2) At one of Florence Cook's séances, Mr. W. Volckman scrutinized the form, features, gestures, size, style, and peculiarities of utterance of the so-called spirit. He grasped the spirit form and found he held the medium. [Crookes, who studied the phenomena of Miss Cook, referred to this incident as a "disgraceful occurrence" that cast unjust suspicion upon an innocent young woman].

(3) At another sitting, in a dark séance, with Miss Cook, one William Hipp seized the hand of the spirit which was sprinkling him

with water, and when a light was struck found himself grasping the hand of the medium.

(4) Some half a dozen years later, in 1880, Sir G. Sitwell and Carl von Buch seized the spirit and found it to be the medium, Mrs. Corner (formerly Miss Cook).

Podmore says:

> Reading between the lines, we are forced to recognize that the confidence expressed by scientific witnesses in the genuineness of these "materializations" is inextricably bound up with their confidence in the personal integrity of the medium, and Miss Cook's later career, at any rate, scarcely allows us to suppose that such confidence was ever well founded.

It is well known that Eusapia Palladino has been frequently caught in fraud, and it is said that her early training included legerdemain. Sitters have recognized in her an adept in conjuring. Those scientists who report favorably upon her phenomena recognize that the weight of their evidence depends upon the *impossibility* of fraud.

The illustrations of suspicious circumstances of fraud that are brought together here constitute but a very small fraction of the stream of negative evidence that without doubt supports the persistent incredulity of official science. They are not intended to offer a means of estimating the full weight of all the negative evidence. Rather, they were chosen for the purpose of explaining why official science hesitates to accept the favoring results of investigations in metapsychics carried out by the most eminent scientists—such as Crookes, Lodge, and Richet—and of providing some concrete material for use in the constructive intimations of this exposition.

What weight has Crookes' report on the phenomena of Kate Fox? Of Home? Of Miss Cook? The rating by official science is probably just zero. The Zöllner report on Henry Slade is also, even more positively, rated at zero. The various reports on Eusapia Palladino probably receive no higher rating.

The stream of negative evidence warns official science that all metapsychic phenomena may be illusory; may be but physiological, psychological, or simple legerdemain.

III

Another cause for the incredulity of "official science" is to be found in the prevalent methods of metapsychic investigation, and this cause perhaps has much greater weight than the stream of negative evidence.

"Unless the 'conditions' are observed, the phenomena will not ap-

pear." But since this is true in all science, why does it have special significance in metapsychics? Because in science the experimenter controls the conditions and in metapsychics the medium controls the conditions. In case the medium is not satisfied with the conditions proposed by the investigator, who in fact is only a sitter, she need not produce the phenomena, and she is excused on the grounds of their uncontrollability.

The reports of metapsychic investigations do not always show how completely the control of the conditions under which the phenomena occur lies with the medium, and many earnest students of the literature will be ready to dispute the fact. We can do no better than to examine one of the best possible cases: the classical report by Crookes on the phenomena of D. D. Home.[4] It reads like a laboratory report, and the natural presumption of the reader would be that the experiments followed laboratory procedure.

Eighteen years after the research, Crookes, in response to earnest entreaty for the long promised amplified report of his investigations, published his notes that were written while the phenomena were going forward and sometimes copied or expanded immediately after. Curiously enough, the heading for these "Notes" carries the term "séances" instead of "experiments."

The Séance of June 21st, 1871, at Mr. Crookes' house is described in the "Notes" as follows:

Wednesday, June 21st, 1871.—Sitting at 20, Mornington-road.—From 10:45 to 11:45. (This séance was held shortly after the previous one [8:40 to 10:30 on the same evening]. We all got up, moved about, opened the windows, and changed our positions.

Present: Mr. D. D. Home (medium), Mrs. Wr. Crookes, Mr. Wr. Crookes, Mrs. Humphrey, Mr. C. Gimingham, Mr. Serjt. Cox, Mr. Wm. Crookes, Mrs. Wm. Crookes.

In the dining-room. The table and apparatus the same as before.

The light was diminished, but there was still light enough to enable us to distinguish each other plainly and see every movement. The apparatus was also distinctly visible.

The automatic register was pushed up close to the index of the balance.

We sat in the following order: [Cut of rectangular table, with positions labeled—Mrs. Wm. C. sat between Home and the apparatus (mahogany board, etc.), and Mr. Wm. Crookes sat by the apparatus].

A lath was lying on the table. [A foot from the edge at which Home sat].

Almost immediately *a message came, "Hands off."* After sitting quiet for a minute or two, all holding hands, we heard loud *raps on*

the table; then *on the floor* by the weight apparatus. The *apparatus was then moved* and the spring balance was heard to move about strongly. We then had the following *message*:

"Weight altered a little. Look."

I then got up and looked at the register. It had descended to 14 pounds, showing an additional tension of (14—5=) 9 pounds.

As this result had been obtained when there was scarcely light enough to see the board and index move, I asked for it to be repeated when there was more light. The gas was turned up and we sat as before. Presently the board was seen to move up and down (Mr. Home being some distance off [sitting or standing?] and not touching the table, his hands being held), and the index was seen to descend to 7 pounds, where the register stopped. This showed a tension of 7—5=2 pounds.

Mr. Home now told us to alter our position. We now sat as follows: [Cut of positions; Mr. Wm. Crookes is moved two places further from the apparatus, and *Home sits by it*].

Mr. Home thereupon moved his chair to the extreme corner of the table and turned his feet quite away from the apparatus close to Mrs. H. Loud *raps were heard on the table* and then *on the mahogany board,* and the latter was shaken strongly up and down. The following message was then given:

"We have now done our utmost."

On going to the spring balance it was seen by the register to have descended to 9 pounds, showing an increase of tension of 4 pounds.

The apparatus was now removed away from the table, and we returned to our old places (see first diagram).

We sat still for a few minutes, when *a message came*:

"Hands off the table, and all joined."

We therefore sat as directed.

Just in front of Mr. Home and on the table, in about the position shown on the first diagram, was a thin wooden lath 23¼ inches long, 1½ inch wide, and ⅜ inch thick, covered with white paper. It was plainly visible to all, and was one foot from the edge of the table.

Presently the *end of this lath,* pointing towards Mr. Wr. Crookes, *rose up* in the air to the height of about 10 inches. The other end then rose up to a height of about five inches, and the lath then floated about for more than a minute in this position, suspended in the air, with no visible means of support. It moved sideways and waved gently up and down, just like a piece of wood on the top of small waves of the sea. The lower end then gently sank till it touched the table and the other end then followed.

Whilst we were all speaking about this wonderful exhibition of force the lath began to move again, and rising up as it did at first, it waved about in a somewhat similar manner. The startling novelty of this movement having now worn off, we were all enabled to follow

its motions with more accuracy. Mr. Home was sitting away from the table at least three feet from the lath all this time; he was apparently quite motionless, and his hands were tightly grasped, his right by Mrs. Wr. Crookes and his left by Mrs. Wm. Crookes. Any movement by his feet was impossible, as, owing to the large cage being under the table, his legs were not able to be put beneath, but were visible to those on each side of him. All the others had hold of hands. As soon as this was over the following *message was given*:

"We have to go now; but before going we thank you for your patience. Mary sends love to aunt, and will play another time."

The séance then broke up at a quarter to twelve. (pp. 110-112)[5]

This sample indicates that the "spirits" directed the seating, the order of the phenomena, the time to produce the phenomena, and the time to inspect the phenomena or read indicators. Looking over the rest of the notes, the reader learns that they regulated the amount of light. The behavior of the mahogany board was irregular, sometimes swaying sideways. And the experiments of a single type were not generally repeated consecutively. Always much else went on: movement of furniture, playing of accordion, passing flowers, clothing tugged, and persons touched by a "spirit hand," elongation or levitation of Home's body, movement of planchette, tumbling and ringing of a bell, knotting of handkerchiefs, the jumping of the table in keeping time with the accordion music, writing of messages on paper, the movement of curtains, trembling of the table, heavy knockings, innumerable raps, and many "messages." In general, we have a multiplicity of phenomena produced in confusion,[6] very similar to those Slade provided Zöllner; and we know that Home kept up an incessant chatter.[7] Home was the only person free to move about.[8]

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[5]William Crookes, F.R.S.: Notes of séances with D. D. Home. Proc. S.P.R., 1889-90, 6.

[6]I am certain that in most cases, when Home was not in a trance, he knew no more what was going to happen than did any one else present. Frequently he was looking another way, engaged in animated conversation with some one at his side, when the first movements took place, and his attention had to be called to them like the rest of us. (Crookes, Jr. S.P.R., 6:343.)

[7]He was an excellent *raconteur,* and by no means kept silent... General conversation was going on all the time, and on many occasions something on the table had moved some time before Home was aware of it. We had to draw his attention to such things far oftener than he drew our attention to them. (Crookes, Jr. S.P.R., 6:343.)

[8]For my part I was always allowed to move about and examine what was taking place as carefully as I liked. [After permission was granted?] All that we were asked was that we should not move suddenly. This was liable to stop the phenomena for a short time. (p. 343)

Metapsychic investigations are not experiments, they are séances. The phenomena come unexpectedly, not just at the moment the observer is prepared to examine them carefully. Rarely are the phenomena of a decisive kind, that are asked for and prepared for, produced.

Crookes, before the researches, had reproved the spiritualists for their extravagant evidence, such as the levitation of pianos, and said that what the scientist yearns for is the exercise of a force of one-ten-thousandths of a gram on the pan of a balance that is confined in a closed case, the swinging of a pendulum in a glass case, the passing of a thousandth part of a grain of arsenic into a sealed glass tube. (p. 62)[4]. He did not get these phenomena. He does imply that an enclosed pendulum was set in motion, but nowhere does he describe the experiment.

Zöllner asked for

1. The linking of two solid rings of different kinds of wood.
2. The reversal of the twist in snail shells.
3. A knot in an endless bladder band.
4. The placing of a paraffin candle in a hollow glass ball, without melting the edges. (pp. 97-99)[9]

What he obtained was

1. The placing of the rings on a jointed centre-post of a table.
2. The removal of the snail shells from the top of the table to a slate held beneath.
3. The entangling of the bladder band with a cord having sealed ends. (pp. 104-6)[9]

which he regarded as such an improvement upon what he had requested that the paraffin candle was neglected.

Even when scientific instruments are used in metapsychic investigation, the control of the conditions of experiment remains in the medium's hands.

In 1907, assistants of Professor Mosso, Doctors Herlitzka, Charles Foa, and Aggazzotti, held sittings with Eusapia Palladino in Turin:

[They saw some of the usual phenomena] but the tests which they had specially prepared in order to render physical intervention on the part of Eusapia impossible unfortunately miscarried. At the first sitting a clockwork cylinder, covered with blackened paper, was placed inside a bell-glass, secured from interference by sealed tapes. The object of the test was to obtain a vertical mark on the cylinder;

[9]Jahaun Carl Friedrich Zöllner: Transcendental Physics; An account of experimental investigations. Tr. by C. C. Massey, London: Harrison, 1880, 48+266 pp.

and the key of the electric circuit through which this end could be accomplished was enclosed in a securely fastened and sealed cardboard box. In the event the sealed tapes were torn off the bell-glass; the lid of the cardboard box was forcibly removed, and the key then depressed. The test was thus rendered useless. Eusapia explained, however, that if woven material instead of cardboard had been used to protect the key, it could have been moved without interference with the apparatus. Acting on the hint the experimenters prepared for the next séance a new apparatus. Inside the cabinet was placed a manometer—a U-shaped tube of mercury with a floating pointer which would automatically register any movements of the mercury on a scale. The tube was in connection with a vessel full of water, and closed with a rubber capsule. Pressure on the capsule would, of course, force up the mercury in the tube. The vessel of water was enclosed in a wooden box, the sides of which rose high above the capsule. The top of the capsule was blackened. In place of a lid the box was covered with cloth, so as to prevent pressure on the capsule by normal means. At the close of the séance the mercury was found to have risen; but the cloth covering was torn. (pp. 100-101)[10]

In the same year another series of investigations was made with Eusapia by Professor Bottazzi of the University of Naples:

No trouble was spared to test the phenomena and ascertain the conditions. At the beginning of each sitting the barometric pressure, the temperature, and the atmospheric saturation were recorded. Several pieces of apparatus—a letter balance, an electrical metronome, a commutator, a rubber ball in connection with a manometer—were placed on a table in the cabinet behind Eusapia, in connection with automatic registering machinery in another room; and in the course of the séance several movements were registered of which the tracings are published. Other inexplicable phenomena were observed, such as a mandolin moving about by itself on the table, whilst Eusapia's hands lay in her lap. But again the only really conclusive test failed. A telegraph key had been securely enclosed in a wire cage, and this Eusapia and her spirit control 'John' were unable to move. (pp. 101f)[10]

Forty-three sittings with Eusapia were held under the auspices of the Institute General Psychologique in Paris:

The investigators loyally complied with the conditions imposed, but sought in various ways to devise tests which should still be valid. The really valuable part of their report is the history of the successive rejections or evasions of their tests by Eusapia. At one time they suggested that the sleeves of the medium should be sewn to the sleeves of the controllers' coats by tapes four inches long. She accepted this method of control on three occasions only—one in each year—and

[10]Frank Podmore: The Newer Spiritualism. London: Unwin, 1910, 320 pp.

then refused to have anything more to do with it, giving as her reason that she had seen lunatics fastened together in this manner in an asylum, and that the recollection was unbearable. (p. 105)[10]

They tested Eusapia's alleged power of affecting the balance without touching it. At first a small machine, like a letter weigher, designed by M. Yourievitch, was employed. It was surrounded with a wooden frame, with linen or wooden panels to fit in the frame, so as to prevent the use of a hair or other fraudulent device. Eusapia tried it with the wooden covering and failed; tried it with the linen covering and failed; tried it with the frame alone and failed. All the protecting apparatus was then removed. Eusapia put her hands on either side of the scale and it went down, and the onlookers could not find out how it was done. Nothing daunted, M. Yourievitch then procured a more delicate balance (pèse-cocon) and surrounded it with a panelled glass lantern. M. Yourievitch further isolated the balance on a cake of wax, and put it in connection with a charged electroscope, so that if Eusapia touched the balance the fraud would be instantly detected. No result. All the glass panels were then removed except the one next Eusapia. Still no result. The last panel was then taken away, a handkerchief being placed over Eusapia's mouth to prevent her breath affecting the sensitive balance. She stretched out her hands as before, and once more the scale moved; but the electroscope was not discharged. Twice more the same results followed. Then—in consequence of some suspicious movements observed by Madame Curie and another member of the Committee—the light was raised (our first intimation that the previous experiments took place in partial obscurity), and an arch of thick wire was placed in front of the balance. The balance moved no more, and Eusapia said she was tired.

Now, Madame Curie and her colleagues had suspected from the position of Eusapia's hands that she might have effected the movement by means of a fine thread, and in fact, on experimenting afterwards, it was found that the scale could be depressed by means of a hair without discharging the electroscope. After this experience M. Yourievitch coated the scale with lamp-black, on which even the pressure of a hair would leave a mark—and the balance moved no more.

They then tried again with the other balance, replacing the metallic scale by a disc of paper in a wooden frame. If a pin were used, the paper would be pierced; if a hair, it would crackle. In fact, the balance moved once, when Eusapia's hands were held—but the paper crackled!

On another occasion Eusapia asked that her hands might be held, and in this position she placed her hands on either side of the leaf of an indiarubber plant, and the leaf was seen to move. Unfortunately for her she had forgotten her usual precaution; an isolated observer

saw the hair between her hands. She was detected on another occasion moving the balance by the same means. (pp. 108-109)[10]

The investigator who introduces instruments of precision meets special difficulties when the medium retains control of the laboratory. He is merely a sitter in a séance.

The distinction must be made between (A) parlor observations under séance conditions, that yield at best but anecdotal evidence, and (B) scientific observations under laboratory conditions, that yield evidence acceptable to "official science." We must regard scientific method.

A. Under séance conditions, proper observation is precluded by the

a. Multiplicity of phenomena,
b. Unexpectedness of each event,
c. Distraction of synchronous phenomena or discourse,
d. Demand on attention for several hours continuously,
e. Dim light,
f. Lack of essential instruments,
g. Lack of control of the conditions,
h. Emotional atmosphere,
i. Taking of inadequate notes while phenomena are occurring.

The observer cannot be prepared to observe a specific occurrence, for he doesn't know what is coming next; any observation is consequently incidental, out of the tail of the eye, or in peripheral vision. Incidental observation in poor light for two continuous hours, amid distractions addressed to both eyes and ears, and attention often misdirected, favors inference in description and becomes mal-observation. With the medium in control of the conditions, no instruments to assist the senses can be used to certain advantage. The report at best can be but anecdotal.

B. Under laboratory conditions, proper observation is carefully provided for by

a. Selecting as simple a phenomenon as possible,
b. Providing a definite moment for its occurrence,
c. Excluding as much distraction as possible,
d. Limiting the time for concentrated attention,
e. Adapting most favorable lighting,
f. Utilizing all essential instruments,
g. Keeping complete control of the conditions,
h. Excluding emotional elements.
i. Recording correctly after the phenomenon has occurred.

The experimenter is prepared to observe the specific event at the

moment it occurs. He gives concentrated attention, and his attention is directed to it. Immediately after he "observes accurately," he "records correctly" by taking care to exclude inference from his description. With the conditions of experiment under his control, he can vary them at his pleasure and repeat the experiment as often as is necessary to reach a decisive, a reliable, result. His report is scientific.

The attitude in the séance is that of blind faith; in the laboratory, of precaution. The closer the scrutiny, in the séance, the less you learn; in the laboratory, the more you learn. Coöperation in the séance is simulated; in the laboratory, effected. The purpose in the séance is to conceal causes; in the laboratory, to reveal them.

The charge has often been made, and in itemized detail, that the rules of the séance enforce the conditions precisely favorable for fraud. And it is a curious fact, briefly suggested in the contrasted lists above, that if all the requirements in scientific method are formally set down in a list, and their opposites are then formally set down, the second list gives the method of the séance. Whereas the rules of the séance grew up empirically in the course of the practice of years, it is certainly suggestive that they may be logically deduced by the principle of negation from the method upon which we depend to acquire knowledge in all the fields of science.

The "obstinate incredulity" of "official science" must be largely attributed to the séance method of investigation to which metapsychics has been almost wholly confined.

For three quarters of a century, evidence has been accumulating in metapsychics, and many eminent scientists have contributed to this evidence. The most constant factor in the investigations whether by laymen, public committees, academic committees, metapsychists, or scientists, during all this time, is the method of the séance. There is no agreement upon the nature, or the description, of a single phenomen in metapsychics; there is nothing constant in the "how" of any of the phenomena. There is agreement only "that" phenomena occur that no one can yet describe or explain. The full yield of the séance method is the conviction in the minds of metapsychists that unknown phenomena occur.

"Official science" without doubt will refuse to recognize even the "fact" that the alleged phenomena occur until it is established by the scientific method, which at the time of revealing the fact of occurrence will also reveal something of the nature of the phenomena. The

eminence of men of science will not outweigh the disabilities of the séance method.

IV

The incredulity of the experimental psychologist is probably more obstinate than that of his fellow scientists. All of these metapsychic phenomena seem to be associated with the mind of a medium, and the reports are dependent upon the mind of the observer. A large proportion of the evidence offered for metapsychic phenomena can be immediately written off in accordance with the psychology of deception and the psychology of testimony. The liability of error in séance observations is very great, much greater than is generally granted. An eminent scientist may be wrong in his observation, even repeatedly wrong, as Crookes certainly was, without being "either a knave or a fool"; and to charge him with error, is by no means to call him "either a liar or an imbecile."

The case and completeness of deception have been amply illustrated by séances held for the purpose of studying the extent and nature of mal-observation:

David J. Halstead, proprietor of the Syracuse *Daily Courier,* reported to that paper what he saw at a sitting with Truesdell, a prominent young businessman of Syracuse:

> The table cloth was removed from the table; upon the table were placed a plain slate with a bit of pencil, and some writing paper also with a bit of lead pencil. Two tureen covers were brought, one placed over the slate, the other over the paper. A sitter went to another room and wrote names of deceased persons on slips of paper which he brought back tightly folded into pellets.
>
> The medium placed these pellets to his forehead, and called out signals at letter after letter, to be recorded, while the sitter repeated the alphabet. In this way the name "Adelbert" was communicated. The selected pellet was unfolded and revealed that name on it.
>
> After writing-sounds, located under the tureen cover on the slate, had ceased, the cover was removed and a message of twelve or more lines, pertinent to the evening's experiment, was found on the slate, and it was signed "Adelbert."
>
> The medium rubbed his arm, rolled up his sleeve, and showed glowing flesh upon which was recorded in pale skin the name "Adelbert."
>
> All occurred under full gas light (and by legerdemain). (pp. 160-9)[11]

[11] John W. Truesdell: The Bottom Facts concerning the Science of Spiritualism. N. Y.: Dillingham, 1892, 351 pp.

Mr. L. W. Chase, a spiritualist, reported to the Syracuse *Daily Courier,* of December 7, 1872, the results of a sitting with Truesdell:

Chase went into an adjoining room to write down names of deceased friends, on slips of paper to be folded into pellets. "On reentering the room he [T.] called out, 'This is all fraud; Caroline C. is not dead, but your sister Charlotte is. If you wish to get anything at all, you must deal honestly with me... Imagine my chagrin... I am entirely satisfied that no mortal eye save my own rested upon the names I had written, and still held tightly folded in my hand, nor did a live soul in the city of Syracuse know the relations of these individuals to myself."

He received on the under surface of a slate lying on the table, in the full glare of gaslight, a message: "My dear Brother: You strive in vain to unlock the hidden mysteries of the future. No mortal has faculties to comprehend infinity. Charlotte." The message was characteristic of his sister, and the handwriting "so closely resembled her's that, to my mind, there cannot be a shadow of doubt as to its identity." He also received a message from his mother in her own handwriting on a sheet of paper. The time is not far distant when "to doubt upon this subject will not only evince greater credulity than to believe, but will necessarily destroy all confidence in our senses."

"I think, Mr. Editor, if men of science are anxious to investigate (in an honest manner)...here is an excellent opportunity..."

Mr. Chase was a stranger; he appeared to be an honest, earnest, seeker after spiritual knowledge. He called upon Truesdell at the moment the latter was closing his office for the day, and requested and appointment for a sitting. Mr. Truesdell tried to dissuade him, protesting that he was merely an amateur investigating for amusement and instruction, that all reports about him were greatly exaggerated, and that science would probably reveal the true origin of the phenomena to be of a material, instead of a spiritual, nature. The more he protested, the more earnestly Chase begged for a sitting, and when Truesdell noticed the large diary in which Chase made one or two memoranda, he reluctantly made an appointment for a sitting in the evening at his home. Before they left the office, however, Truesdell turned on the draft of the coal-stove, compelling the perspiring visitor to remove his overcoat, and examined that diary and a letter from Chase's sister (while Chase was engaged with a book in the adjoining room).

Truesdell explains the phenomena of the sitting at his home: The ballots were exchanged for blanks by palming, and were read; the message was prepared and the slate substituted; the movement of the slate was effected by a thread tied to a vest-button; the sound of the writing was produced by the rubbing of a slate-pencil, held by silk loops to the knee, against another pencil clamped to the flange of the table. (pp. 184-203)[11]

Richard Hodgson had some sittings with Eglinton, in 1884, and endeavored to make detailed records of the phenomena. For the first time, he said, he appreciated the difficulties of observation and of recollection of such events; they seemed so great as to effectually prevent a full and accurate description. (p. 382)[12] He arranged with S. J. Davey to give séances to ascertain exactly how much reliance could be placed upon the reports of even acute and intelligent observers.

Mr. Davey, who was first attracted to séance phenomena by reports of Eglinton, was so amazed at the ease with which that medium deceived his sitters that he set to work at séance technique to see how much he could perform by legerdemain that would be recognized as supernormal. Spiritist reports were soon so glowing that he was accepted as one of the great mediums. After the Hodgson-Davey investigation, Alfred Russell Wallace declared that the findings of that investigation could not be accepted until it is proved that Davey is not a genuine medium, pretending that he uses legerdemain.

The reports of séance phenomena produced by Davey were written by educated and intelligent witnesses immediately after the séance. A single small sample follows:

Mrs. Y.: This test seemed to me *perfect*. The slate was under my own eye, on top of the table, the whole time, and either my daughter's hand or my own was placed firmly upon it without the intermission of even a second; moreover, we closed and opened it ourselves. (p. 44)[13]

Nevertheless, the substitution occured, and Hodgson saw it. Hodgson also saw Davey write the message on the slate in the morning.

The results completely discredit the reliability of records of séance phenomena, upon the grounds of mal-observation. In addition to these illusions of perception, Hodgson emphasizes illusions of memory which affect descriptions written weeks or months after the events.[12]

Henry Sidgwick and Mrs. Sidgwick's sister attended a séance by Haxby, in 1878, and observed phenomena that created a complete illusion of perception in Mr. X.:

Mrs. Sidgwick's sister said: Abdullah professed to dematerialize

[12]Richard Hodgson: The possibilities of mal-observation and lapse of memory, from a practical point of view. Proc. S.P.R., 1886-87, 4:381ff.; 1892, 8:253ff. This significant report should be read and studied by all metapsychists.

[13]Jr. S.P.R., 1891, 5.

before us once as at the previous séance. My head was only about 1½ feet from him, and I saw him go through the same processess as he did then. I saw his arms plainly till he was right down on the floor. Then he put up his hands to the cloth on his head bringing the part hanging behind over the top and front, to hide the tiara, and then pulled the whole off his head, the white cloth remaining as the last bit of Abdullah for a few moments. I saw his hair plainly as the cloth came off, and also his back inside the curtains.

Before this séance all the members of the circle, including an enthusiastic spiritist [Mr. X.], had been told what to expect.

Mr. Sidgwick said: I was seated at the farthest point in the circle; at the same time in witnessing Abdullah's disappearance I was unable even to imagining it anything else than the medium withdrawing gradually into the cabinet, having first fallen on his knees, and then gradually lowering his head. But Mr. X, who sat nearly as far off as, but certainly not farther than, I did, remarked when the performance was over that "All our doubts must now be removed," and afterwards to Mr. H., on going away, that our materializations were better than theirs in Paris.

Experiences like this make one feel how misleading the accounts of some completely honest witnesses may be... And after all it appears that those marvelous séances [in Paris] were no better than this miserable personation by Haxby. (pp. 61-2)[14]

Many illustrations of the illusion of memory may be found in the literature. But three will be quoted. The first two relate to the phenomena of D. D. Home.

Sir David Brewster. with Lord Brougham, attended a sitting with Home in Cox's Hotel, in 1855. In his diary he recorded:

A small hand-bell was then laid down with its mouth on the carpet; and after lying for some time, it *actually rang when nothing could have touched it.* The bell was then placed on the other side, and it came over to me and placed itself in my hand... Could give no explanation...

Four months later he wrote a letter to the *Morning Advertiser,* October 12, 1855:

Round table covered with copious drapery beneath which nobody was allowed to look. The spirits were powerless aboveboard... A small hand-bell, to be rung by spirits, was placed on the ground near my feet. I placed my feet round it in the form of an angle, to catch any intrusive apparatus. *The bell did not ring;* but when taken to a new place near Mr. Home's feet, it speedily came across and placed

[14]Mrs. Henry Sidgwick: Results of a personal investigation into the physical phenomena of spiritualism, with some critical remarks on the evidence for the genuineness of such phenomena. Proc. S.P.R., 1886-87, 4:45ff.

itself in my hand... Conjecture it was done by Home's feet. (II. pp. 142-3)[15]

An alternative explanation of the contrast between the two accounts of the same phenomena, given above, is that, upon reflection, the sensorial memory responsible for the first account was discredited. Whatever the explanation, the reliability of testimony remains impaired.

In the "Researches," William Crookes reports the behavior of the wooden lath as follows:

A small lath...moved across the table to me, in the light, and delivered a message to me by tapping my hand; *I repeating the alphabet, and the lath tapping me at the right letters.* The other end of the lath was resting on the table, some distance from Mr. Home's hands.

The taps were so sharp and clear, and the lath was evidently so well under the control of the invisible power which was governing its movements, that I said, "Can the intelligence governing the motion of this lath change the character of the movements, and give me a telegraphic message through the Morse alphabet by taps on my hand?" (I have every reason to believe that the Morse code *was quite unknown to any other person present,* and it was only imperfectly known to me.) Immediately I said this, the character of the taps changed, and the message was continued in the way I had requested. The letters were given too rapidly for me to do more than catch a word here and there, and consequently I lost the message; but *I heard sufficient to convince me that* there was a good Morse operator at the other end of the line, wherever that might be.[4]

Crookes, in his "Notes" published eighteen years later, but recorded on the spot, reported as follows:

The wooden lath now rose from the table and rested one end on my knuckles, the other end being on the table. It then rose up and tapped me several times. *Questions which I put were answered "Yes" or "No" in this manner.* I said, "Do you know the Morse alphabet?" "Yes." "Could you give me a message by it?" "Yes." As soon as this was rapped out the lath commenced rapping my knuckles in long and short taps, in a manner exactly resembling a "Morse" message. My knowledge of the code and of reading by sound *is not sufficient to enable me to say positively that it was a message;* but it sounded exactly like one; the long and short taps and the pauses were exactly similar, and *Mr. C. Gimingham, who has practice with the Morse code,* feels almost certain that it was so. (pp. 123-4)[5]

Sir Edmund Hornby, formerly Chief Judge of the Supreme Con-

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[15]Frank Podmore: Modern Spiritualism. 2 vol. Lon.: Methuen & Co., 1902.

sular Court of China and Japan, at Shanghai, provides the third illustration of illusion of memory. In this case dream elements very probably enter to alter the events as experienced:

He described events occurring on the night of January 19, 1875. It had been his habit to allow reporters to come to his house in the evening to get his written judgments for the next day's paper.

On the day of the event he went to his study an hour or two after dinner and wrote out his judgment.

"I rang for the butler, gave him the envelope, and told him to give it to the reporter who should call for it. I was in bed before twelve... I had gone to sleep, when I was awakened by hearing a tap at the study door, but thinking it might be the butler—looking to see if the fires were safe and the gas turned off—I turned over...to sleep again. Before I did so, I heard a tap at my bedroom door. Still thinking it the butler...I said, 'Come in.' The door opened, and, to my surprise, in walked Mr.——. I sat up and said, 'You have mistaken the door; but the butler has the judgment, so go and get it. Instead of leaving the room he came to the foot of the bed. I said, 'Mr.——, you forget yourself! Have the goodness to walk out directly. This is rather an abuse of my favor.' He looked deadly pale, but was dressed as usual, and sober, and said, 'I know I am guilty of an unwarrantable intrusion, but finding that you were not in your study I have ventured to come here.' I was losing my temper, but something in the man's manner disinclined me to jump out of bed to eject him by force. So I said simply, 'This is too bad, really; pray leave the room at once.' Instead of doing so he put his hand on the foot-rail and gently, and as if in pain, sat down on the foot of the bed. I glanced at the clock and saw that it was about *twenty minutes past one*. I said, 'The butler has had the judgment since half-past eleven; go and get it!' He said, 'Pray forgive me; if you knew all the circumstances you would. Time presses. Pray give me a precise of your judgment, and I will take a note in my book of it,' drawing his reporter's book out of his breast pocket. I said, 'I will do nothing of the kind. Go downstairs, find the butler, and don't disturb me—*you will wake my wife;* otherwise I shall have to put you out.' He slightly moved his hand. I said, 'Who let you in?' He answered, 'No one.' 'Confound it,' I said, 'What the devil do you mean? Are you drunk?' He replied quickly, 'No, and never shall be again; but I pray your lordship give me your decision, for my time is short.' I said, 'You don't seem to care about my time, and this is the last time I will ever allow a reporter in my house.' He stopped me short, saying, 'This is the last time I shall ever see you anywhere.'

Well, *fearful that this commotion might arouse and frighten my wife*, I shortly gave him the gist of my judgment... He seemed to be taking it down in shorthand; it might have taken two or three minutes. When I finished, he rose, thanked me for excusing his in-

trusion and for the consideration I had always shown him and his colleagues, opened the door, and went away. I looked at the clock; it was on the stroke of *half-past one.*"

(*Lady Hornby awoke*, thinking she had heard talking; and *her husband told her what had happened, and repeated the account when dressing the next morning.*)

"I went to court a little before ten. The usher came into my room to robe me, when he said, 'A sad thing happened last night, sir. Poor ——was found dead in his room.' I said 'Bless my soul! dear me! What did he die of, and when?' 'Well, sir, it appeared he went up to his room as usual at ten to work at his papers. His wife went up about twelve to ask him when he would be ready for bed. He said, "I have only the Judge's judgment to get ready, and then I have finished." As he did not come, she went up again, *about a quarter to one,* to his room and peeped in, and thought she saw him writing, but she did not disturb him. At *half-past one* she again went to him and spoke to him at the door. As he didn't answer she thought he had fallen asleep, so she went up to rouse him. To her horror he was dead. On the floor was his note-book, which I have brought away. She sent for the doctor, who arrived *a little after two,* and said he had been dead, he concluded, about an hour.' I looked at the note-book. There was the usual heading: 'In the Supreme Court, before the Chief Judge: The Chief Judge gave judgment this morning in this case to the following effect'—and then followed a few lines of indecipherable shorthand.

"I sent for the magistrate who would act as coroner, and desired him to examine Mr.——'s wife and servants as to whether Mr.—— had left his home or could possibly have left it without their knowledge, between eleven and one on the previous night. The result of the *inquest* showed he died of some form of heart disease, and had not and could not have, left the house without the knowledge of at least his wife, if not of the servants. Not wishing to air my 'spiritual experience' for the benefit of the press or the public, I kept the matter at the time to myself, only mentioning it to my Puisne Judge and to one or two friends; but when I got home to tiffin *I asked my wife* to tell me as nearly as she could remember what I had said to her during the night, and I made a brief note of her replies and of the facts."

[*Lady Hornby has kindly confirmed the* above facts to us, as far as she was cognizant of them.]

"As I said then, so I say now—I was not asleep, but wide awake. After a lapse of nine years my memory is quite clear on the subject. I have not the least doubt I saw the man—have not the least doubt that the conversation took place between us.

"I may add that I had examined the butler in the morning—who had given me back the MS. in the envelope when I went to the court after breakfast—as to whether he had locked the door as usual, and if anyone could have got in. He said that he had done every-

thing as usual, adding that no one could have got in even if he had not locked the door, as there was no handle outside—which there was not... The coolies said they opened the door as usual that morning —turned the key and undid the chains." (pp. 89-91)[16]

A communication to the *Nineteenth Century,* November, 1884, by Frederick H. Balfour, points out some discrepancies between the above narrative and the facts:

1. The M—is the Rev. Hugh Lang Nivens, editor of the *Shanghai Courier.* He died not at *one* in the morning but between eight or nine a.m. after a good night's rest.
2. There was no Mrs. Hornby at that time. Sir Edmund's second wife had died two years previously, and he did not marry again till three months *after* the event.
3. No Inquest was ever held.
4. The story turns upon the judgment of a certain case to be delivered the next day, January 20, 1875. There is no record of any such judgment.

Before printing the letter from Balfour, the Editors sent it to Judge Hornby for his comment:

My vision "must have followed the death (some three months) instead of synchronizing with it. At the same time this hypothesis is quite contrary to the collection of the facts both in my own mind and in Lady Hornby's mind... If I had not believed, as I still believe, that every word of it [the story] was accurate, and that my memory was to be relied on, I should not have even told it as a personal experience."

All these discrepancies are concordant with the results of psychological research on testimony, and are to be attributed to psychological law rather than to either dishonesty or culpable carelessness.

The readiness of metapsychists to rely upon observations of séance phenomena, their insistence that illusion can be avoided, and their quick condemnation of the competence of an observer who is tricked, clearly indicate that they do not understand that error is inevitable. Consequently the psychologist remains incredulous in the face of all the accumulating "evidence."

Perception is not the photographic process the layman and elementary text-books take it to be. We do not perceive with our senses. We perceive with our minds. What we perceive is represented in part by (a) immediate sensations (through our special senses) and in part by (b) mental stuff (imagery) contributed by our past ex-

[16]Gurney and Meyers: Visible Apparitions. *Nineteenth Century.* July, 1884, 16.

perience. A perception, we might say, is a process compounded of sensation and imagination; it is the result of sensory impressions being assimilated by memorial material. The ratio between sensation and imagination varies greatly in what we call perception, depending upon the definiteness, of the sensory component and upon the definiteness, or readiness, of the memorial elements—which is often referred to as "expectancy". When the sensorial component is definite but overridden, illusions occur; when it is negligible, hallucinations occur. Thus, perception is not different in its constitution from illusions or hallucinations. The observer himself is unable to distinguish the difference; nor can the trained observer in the psychological laboratory by introspection separate the memorial component from the sensory component in a perception, so thoroughly fused are they in the unitary psychical process.

The method of the séance is precisely adapted to produce illusions and hallucinations, and it strains credulity to imagine that any trustworthy observations come from it. All of the evidence is suspect, and no "sheaf of testimony" is more cogent than its weakest component. The "fagot theory" is fallacious. It is not universally true that "Where there is so much smoke, there must be some fire," for the "smoke" may be but dust stirred up by artful deceivers for artless perceivers. It is useless to fagot séance evidence.

It thus becomes clear why evidence for phenomena observed under séance conditions cannot be accepted by the experimental psychologist, and why his refusal does not reflect upon the honesty or the general scientific competence of the séance observer.

The disability of the evidence for metapsychic phenomena can be removed only by the adoption of the laboratory method. That the phenomena are extremely variable and difficult to control is no more a reason for avoiding the scientific method in metapsychics than in physiology or psychology where similar difficulties are met.

Memory is not the recovery of a block of experience that has lain in a pigeonhole. Physical analogy is hopelessly inadequate to illustrate the way the mind works. Memory is a process, and a process that never repeats itself exactly. A block of experience has no more existence before it is recalled, than the North wind has in a calm, and cannot be pigeon-holed. Its recollection is another mental process, a new one in itself, reproducing elements identical or similar to the elements in the original experience. In the representative repetition, however, the mutation of the elements in the original experience is character-

istic, and is often very great. It is not so much of surprise, therefore, that flagrant errors in testimony occur, as it is that conditions can be devised by which testimony may be accurate. The method of experiment in the laboratory provides these conditions by requiring the record on the spot.

Perhaps another circumstance bearing upon the incredulity of the psychologist should be given consideration. In the psychological laboratory the study of mental processes, dependent upon an adult person, is a coöperative enterprise. The experimenter and the observer, when the information sought must be obtained by introspection, have each their definite respective parts to play. The experimenter and the subject, when the information sought is accessible to the experimenter, must likewise assume their respective rôles. In either case, thorough understanding, and complete coöperation, are essential.

Now, any record of séance phenomena reads like a contest between the medium and the sitters. There is the matching of wits, with the great advantage in favor of the medium, who retains control of the phenomena. When scientific instruments are brought into the séance room, they must first be "magnetized," and later they are almost invariably misused, so that all crucial tests fail, and the investigators are forced to return to the usual séance phenomena.

If the relation becomes experimenter and subject, and the experimenter retains control of the conditions of the experiment, the nature of the phenomena need not depend upon the immediate control of the medium's body. The use of scientific instruments will reveal the exact relation of her body or her movements to the phenomena. And should phenomena new to science appear, the conditions favoring them could be determined, and headway could be made in the further study of their nature and the laws governing them.

The use of the scientific method, and instruments of precision, does not constitute a threat to the medium, as is sometimes intimated, and neither she nor her manager should demur at their use. To do so implies a fear lest the phenomena will be found to be normally produced. Sincerity on the part of those in charge of the phenomena should inspire not only a willingness to coöperate in the only method of research fitted to advance knowledge, but an earnest request to be allowed to do so. This attitude would immediately disarm many *a priori* critics, and recommend the medium to the psychologist as a suitable subject for his laboratory.

Research could then begin on two simple but fundamental types of metapsychic phenomena: (a) Telekinesis and (b) Cryptesthesia. The experimental problems might be, (a) What are the raps, and (b) Is there supernormal knowledge?

The incredulity of the psychologist does not spring from an *a priori* judgment that metapsychic phenomena are not possible; it comes from his knowledge of psychological causes of error, and the resulting conviction that reliance upon the scientific method alone is the price of admissible evidence.

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CHAPTER XII

TELEPATHY AS AN EXPERIMENTAL PROBLEM

By Gardner Murphy

The kind of experience commonly called "telepathy" forms a very ancient problem. Herodotus tells of a case in which King Croesus consulted the Delphic Oracle by messenger. The messenger is said to have obtained from the Oracle an exact description of a complicated act which the King had performed when alone. Classical and mediæval literature abound in alleged cases of the influence of one mind upon another over long distances. In the eighteenth century Swedenborg attracted wide attention by his claims to knowledge of events occurring at great distances,—most famous is the case of his apparent knowledge of the great Stockholm fire several hours before the fastest messenger could bring news of it. Late in the same century Mesmer and his followers claimed that their patients were capable of receiving impressions from their minds without any sensory communication. Three different committees, one in the late eighteenth century and two early in the nineteenth, investigated the claims of the Mesmerists; although one of the commissions reported favorably upon the claims for telepathy and many similar marvels, the scientific world remained unmoved.

The earliest serious experimental work is that of Sir William Barrett in England in 1876, followed shortly by the investigations of the English Society for Psychical Research during the 1880's, and similar experiments at short and long distances on the continent and in this country. Parallel to these experimental studies were two large-scale investigations of so-called "spontaneous" cases. An illustration will show my meaning.

"I woke up with a start, feeling I had had a hard blow on my mouth, and with a distinct sense that I had been cut, and was bleeding under my upper lip, and seized my pocket-handkerchief, and held it (in a little pushed lump) to the part, as I sat up in bed, and after a few seconds, when I removed it, I was astonished not to see any blood, and only then realised it was impossible anything could have struck me there, as I lay fast asleep in bed, and so I thought it was only a dream:—but I looked at my watch and saw it was seven, and

finding Arthur (my husband) was not in the room, I concluded (rightly) that he must have gone out on the lake for an early sail, as it was so fine.

"I then fell asleep. At breakfast (half-past nine), Arthur came in rather late, and I noticed he rather purposely sat farther away from me than usual, and every now and then put his pocket-handkerchief furtively up to his lip, in the very way I had done. I said, 'Arthur, why are you doing that?' and added a little anxiously, 'I know you have hurt yourself! but I'll tell you why afterwards.' He said, 'Well, when I was sailing, a sudden squall came, throwing the tiller suddenly round, and it struck me a bad blow in the mouth, under the upper lip, and it has been bleeding a good deal and won't stop.' I then said, 'Have you any idea what o'clock it was when it happened?' and he answered, 'It must have been about seven.'

"I then told what had happened to me, much to his surprise, and all who were with us at breakfast. It happened here about three years ago at Brantwood, to me."[1]

Such cases, supported at least by evidence beyond the testimony of the individual, have been published by the thousands. Several statistical studies of such cases were early undertaken to compare the frequency of such occurrences against the number to be expected by mere coincidence. Although such studies seemed to show that explanations in terms of "coincidence" are very hazardous, the data did not attract wide attention and have in general been ignored by science.

Most noteworthy among the early experimental studies are those of Mrs. Sidgwick performed under relatively strict conditions, one person attempting to "send" impressions to a "receiver" on another floor of the same building.[2] In 1905 and 1909 two series of telepathic experiments were reported in the "Proceedings" of the English Society by Miss Miles and Miss Ramsden.[3] Working at long distances—sometimes in fact over a distance of several hundred miles—they took turns in the effort to transmit to one another impressions upon which they concentrated at a given hour. At seven o'clock each evening one would endeavor to send, the other to receive, an impression, the reports being mailed immediately to the Society headquarters in London. The coincidences are very extraordinary and although not susceptible of direct statistical measurement, seem

(1) *Phantasms of the Living.* Gurney, Podmore and Myers, vol. 1, p. 188.

(2) *Proceedings.* Society for Psychical Research, vol. 8.

(3) *Ibid.,* vols. 21 and 27.

to be many times in excess of the number attributable to chance. Such estimates, however, are of no great consequence, and we cannot tell to what extent concurrent habits of thought or a common source may be responsible for the similarities in the thoughts of the two. In the second series their results are even more extraordinary than in the first but with this peculiar variation:—in many cases the receiver obtained, not the impression upon which the sender was concentrating, but details of her experience during the minutes or hours immediately preceding the experiment. Among these are such specific ideas, for example, as that of a little girl with her hair down her back, cutting out scraps of paper. It may be noted in passing that this tendency to obtain items which are in the margin of consciousness, or which have recently been in consciousness, instead of the one upon which the sender has actually been concentrating, has been reported by a host of investigators; at the same time, such allowances, of course, make statistical computation even more difficult.

The most extraordinary experiment ever reported by serious investigators using the method just described is the following:[4] The hour chosen was 8:30 P. M. It so happened that during the day preceding the experiment in question the receiver B told his friend C that an experiment was to take place and that she might take part if she wished. The sender, A, who was at a distance of several hundred miles, did not, of course, know of C's participation. That evening A ate his dinner in a little Bohemian restaurant, and at the same table began, after his meal, a game of chess. Please notice the circumstances of the game. There were in the room three men at an adjoining table who were talking loudly; they were eating roast capon with bread sauce. The room had green hangings. In the next room some one was strumming on the piano. At 8:25 A suddenly recalled that the experiment was due and hastily withdrew to a quiet place. Here at 8:30 he concentrated on a meaningless diagram. The impression received by C in automatic writing included the following items: "Roast capon, bread sauce, three men, much talk, green hangings, somebody strumming." And with it was a criss-cross pattern more or less resembling the chess-board. In the case of this experiment compared with items obtained in a variety of others, it is evident that the results are scarcely likely to be mere coincidences. This is a case in which the genuineness of the telepathic phenomenon depends chiefly on the good faith

(4) Burt and Usher, *Annals of Psychical Science,* 1909.

of the experimenters and authors,—a point upon which no one at our distance has the right to any positive opinion either *pro* or *con*.

It is evident from the Miles-Ramsden experiment, as well as from the one just named, that we needed a type of material capable of accurate statistical measurement, and a method which could be repeated at will under controlled conditions, capable of observation by any person properly equipped and willing to give the time. Several such attempts have consequently been made. Of these, by far the most extensive is that of Dr. Coover of Stanford University, whose results, contained in this series of papers, may speak for themselves. My chief duty is to acquaint you with investigations which are much less widely known in American university circles. Probably the most significant of these is the experiment conducted by three members of the Department of Psychology at the University of Groningen in The Netherlands. It was reported in 1921 to the First International Congress of Psychical Research by Dr. Brugmans.[5]

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(5) *Compte-rendu du premier congrès international des recherches psychiques.*

6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H

FIGURE 1
Board used in telepathic experiment at University of Groningen, Netherlands.

Two rooms in the university psychological laboratory were used, one directly above the other. A hole was cut in the floor of the upper room and two sheets of plate glass placed therein securely, with an air cushion between. This made it possible to look from the upper into the lower room. Nevertheless the experimenters report that no voice could be heard in the lower room even when one was shouting in the upper room. The three psychologists took turns in acting as "sender". The materials to be transmitted consisted of letters and numbers arranged on a board as indicated in Fig. 1.

In each experiment they drew from one bag a slip of paper determining which letter from A to H inclusive was to be used, and from another bag another slip determining which number from 1 to 6 was to be used. The two slips of paper together therefore designated one specific square on the board containing 48 squares. In the room below was a wooden frame-work covered with (Fig. 2) black cloth on its upper and three lateral surfaces. The chair of the "receiver" was placed so that his back was to the one open side. His right arm extended through an opening so that the hand and a part of the forearm were visible to the experimenters in the room above; the receiver himself could, of course, see nothing above him. In front of the receiver's hand was the board just described. The purpose of the experimenters was to force the subject by their own volition to move his finger to the square which had been chosen by lot and upon which they were concentrating their attention. The receiver's signal that his choice had been made was a double tap with the forefinger upon the board; thus, no premature termination of a given experiment could result from excitement of the experimenters upon an apparent, though spurious, success. Six experiments at a time were carried out. The experimenters then came into the room in which the receiver sat, and performed six experiments at close range, changing the position of the board upon entering as well as upon leaving the room. The latter precaution aimed at the elimination of mere "position habits" and also undertook to keep in the foreground the factor of voluntary control of the hand by the experimenters, rather than the mere attempt to induce imagery in the receiver's mind. Of 187 experiments conducted as just described, one in 48 or approximately 4½ in all should have been perfect successes according to the theory of probability. Actually, the number of successes was 60. Curiously enough, 40% of the experiments between two rooms were complete successes while only 30% of those in the same room were successful.

The experiments hazard the conjecture that in the latter case the attempt to be on their guard against unconscious whispering and the like interfered with their concentration. Not only did they measure the number of successes but the amount of deviation upon the board from the correct square in the case of all errors, and found that the distribution of errors follows a normal probability curve,—that is, that the number of errors of a specific type decreases in accordance with the distance from the correct square. Two familiar ideas from the psychology laboratory were introduced: one, the effect of drugs, the other, the effect of relaxation. Alcohol was used in a few experiments and seemed to have a markedly beneficial effect on the results; in fact of the 29 experiments in which the receiver took 30 grams of alcohol ten minutes before the experiment began, 22 were successful. Upon this the investigators comment: "Alcohol overcomes the individual's normal inhibitions. The decrease in self-consciousness and the tendency to more superficial ideas are symptoms of this lack of inhibitions." The subject's introspective report of "passivity or relaxation" coincided also remarkably with his most successful reports; the psycho-galvanic method gave results which seemed confirmatory to this view.

Probably the most serious questions relating to technique in this experiment have to do with the possibility of auditory hyperaesthesia (a possibility not completely covered even by the precautions named), and the remote possibility of reflections of light[6] from the upper into the lower room. In spite of these difficulties this is, in my judgment, the best piece of work which the history of the subject has to offer.

In 1921 R. Warcollier published in Paris a comprehensive text on our subject entitled, "La Télépathie". This contains much valuable material on the mental states most favorable for the transmission and reception of telepathic impressions, an analysis carried forward much more rigorously than is done anywhere in the literature in English. The significance of drowsy and semi-sleeping conditions is supported by a wide range of facts, and a critical discussion of the relation of drugs to the telepathic predisposition is added. The author gives, in addition, an account of experiments of his own with a group of individuals in Paris and other cities of France. In these experiments visual material predominates. Some of these contain the necessary

[6]Though the upper room was darkened, and the subject blindfolded.

statistical control, but some of the more striking cases are not thus measurable.

Warcollier's work continues and has gained steadily both in critical spirit and in the accumulation of coöperating individuals in many regions. In a recent pamphlet, an extraordinarily interesting case is reported in which we are given the impressions of two senders in Paris and one receiver in this country. The first two thought of a two-handled loving cup, and a stag's antlers, respectively. The receiver got the impression of a loving cup, the handles of which were in the form of antlers. The receiver, who is well known to me, is an individual who has made much of the habit of putting herself voluntarily into those states of relaxation and mental passivity to which Warcollier refers.

I may now briefly mention my own work, not because it contains anything particularly novel, but because it is a part of a sequence in which, as you will see, my successor has benefitted by my mistakes, and has given American research in the field a much more satisfactory character. From 1922 to 1925 I held the Hodgson Fellowship in Psychical Research at Harvard. I devoted about fifty per cent of my time during those years to the search for individuals who claimed to have telepathic gifts,—my theory being that such gifts, if genuine, are rare, and that it is among those reporting extraordinary psychic experiences that experimental results are most likely to be obtained. A young woman in one of my graduate courses reported to me, for example, the following case:—She and a friend had made an appointment for 5:30 one evening. She was late in starting down town to meet her friend. In fact it was after five when she started into the subway at 116th Street. As she went down the steps the idea flashed into her mind that it was futile to go further, that her friend was already on her way uptown, and that the only thing to do was to go quickly to the corner of Riverside Drive and 122nd Street. She tried to banish this absurd notion from her mind, feeling certain that her friend was waiting down town for her; and again she proceeded down the steps. A second time the idea flashed into her mind that she must hurry over to Riverside Drive. Giving up all attempt at rationality, she turned around and hurried to Riverside Drive and 122nd Street, where she met her friend descending from a Fifth Avenue bus. It seemed to me that this was the kind of case that I wanted to experiment with; and we have therefore carried on a series of experiments both at short and long range in which impressions of

all sorts, but especially geometrical figures of various shapes, have been used.

Another case is that of a young man, a senior in college, who took with me a general course in abnormal psychology. He asked me after class the explanation of this experience: There had come suddenly into his mind early one morning a tune which he had not recently heard, and of which, as far as he knew, he had not recently been thinking. It seemed to him that a friend of his was playing this tune; he did not understand the reason for her choice, as he had heard her play many other tunes more recently, and many were of more emotional significance to her and to him. The hour of the impression had been so early that the idea of her playing the piano at that time seemed to him extremely improbable. It had turned out, however, that she had arisen early on that day, had run through some old music and had picked out the piece in question to play at approximately the time he got the impression. Exact verification of the time was, of course, not possible. I told him that I had no explanation to offer, but that I should be interested to hear more about it, and to know if he had had similar experiences. He came into my office with me and told me the following incident. About two years before he had been much interested in hypnotism, and in the possibility of telepathy. One evening he made up his mind to try the experiment of transmitting a mental command to a friend living at another address in the same city. He concentrated upon the idea that this friend must meet him at 9 o'clock the following morning at a certain cross-roads outside of the city. It rained heavily the next day, which happened to be a Sunday. There he waited at the cross-roads; at 9 o'clock appeared his friend to meet him. She asked him why he had made her come to that forlorn locality, particularly in view of the fact that it was raining and that she would much have liked to be on her way to church. He asked her what she meant by her strange question, and she replied that she had had a dream the night before in which he appeared, demanding that she should meet him there at that hour. I asked him, of course, whether they had ever met at that place or at that hour, and he replied that both the place and hour had been deliberately chosen among those least likely to be thought of; that is, they had never been at the place together, and they had never met at such an hour. As in the former instance, the case is offered not as proving anything whatever, but simply as an instance of the type of case which one encounters in such research

and as a case which should be studied under experimental conditions, where, if possible, we might ascertain the statistical as well as the qualitative analysis of such happenings. This young man immediately agreed to coöperate, and carried through a series of experiments both with me and with the previous subject mentioned. In the latter series some of his results at a distance of two miles from the "sender" were quite extraordinary, but the series was too short to permit conclusions of any kind, and he shortly afterwards graduated and went into business outside of the city. I was much surprised and pleased to get a note from him just the other day. He has returned and we are again experimenting.

A third subject, a middle aged woman of refinement and education, gave us also a good many hours for experiments with geometrical figures, obtaining, under a variety of conditions, results which I have not been able to explain. The great bulk of my telepathic work has yielded results closely comparable to those of Dr. Coover; that is to say, the vast majority of subjects give results which offer no difficulties of explanation in terms of coincidences. Some rather marked exceptions remain unexplained.

A case which shows all the complexities and difficulties of investigation is the experiment conducted by radio on March 2nd, 1924, from the Zenith Station in Chicago. Professors Gault and English coöperated with me in a simple plan to test out the ability of "listeners in" to receive impressions upon which we three and a group of other persons at the studio were concentrating. In each experiment the audience were told the general nature of the stimulus, for example, that it was a number or an animal, and that they were to try to get the particular thing, the number or the particular animal. Over 2,500 persons mailed reports. With the exception of two individuals there is not a case in which we really have any problem. In fact, leaving aside these two persons we find that the results are a little worse than chance would lead us to expect. All the stimuli were chosen by a machine constructed on the principle of a triple roulette wheel which is capable of picking out one of any thousand objects numbered in accordance with the numbers on the machine.[7] The first seven experiments were as follows:

[7]Statistical computations are, of course, quite involved, particularly in view of the fact that some animals are better known than others, some numbers more frequently thought of, etc. We have tabulated the "preference" throughout the series. Probably the slight difference between the results

1. A number between 1 and 1,000 inclusive.
2. A wild animal with a letter written over his head.
3. A colored line drawn to intersect a given black line, color and angle to be guessed.
4. A taste.
5. A pain at some point on the hands or arms.

6 and 7. Emotional experiences, 6 being a drowning man, and 7 a fireman rescuing a girl.

The variation in the kind of stimulus showed no clear results in spite of the tradition in favor of emotionally stimulating objects; it is enough to note that under the conditions stated none of the types of material used had any measurable telepathic effect. There remained, however, the two cases just referred to. One got a bizarre impression agreeing rather strikingly with the experience of one of the senders; the latter, instead of following directions, had tied a string around the little finger of his left hand in experiment 5, and had endeavored to convey the idea of dull throbbing in that member. One report mentioned a dull throbbing in the left little finger. A single case can of course lead to no conclusion. The other case was of quite a different character. One individual mailed in results which showed three complete and two partial successes in the experiments described; she got, for example, the exact location of the pain which was on the left palm about one-half inch below the base of the little finger, and the impression of the drowning man. An empirical check upon the likelihood of her getting her whole range of recorded successes showed that this chance was certainly far below one in one hundred million.[8]

As we had explained over the radio that our chief purpose was not to prove anything but to enlist persons for further research under better controlled conditions, we undertook correspondence with the young woman who mailed this report. She was quite willing to take part in further work under any scientific control necessary. Her family became interested and three of them sent me at different times cordial letters arranging for every convenience for study of

obtained and the chance figure is due to our machine having hit upon non-preferred objects to a slightly greater extent than preferred objects.

[8]Computation without reference to the factor of preference mentioned in the preceding note agrees fairly closely with the empirical check mentioned. The actual chance is probably not more than one in a billion; but conservative estimate is based upon the necessity for strictness in defining a "success".

the problem in their own home. One of the most serious disappointments in my three years' work in the field was that I was ill at the very time that the experiments were to have been conducted, and have never been able at any other time to arrange the long trip necessary to the young woman's present home. But this case must be seen through, and studied carefully before I shall ever be satisfied.

I might summarize my approach, in such work as I was able to do, by saying that for my own work I believed and still believe in the necessity of taking particular individuals and duplicating as far as possible the conditions under which they claim to have had such experiences. The procedure should, I think, be gradually tightened up so that one source of error after another is controlled. An attempt to control all sources of error *at the beginning* is not only futile because of the impossibility of foreseeing all sources of error, but prejudicial to obtaining the kinds of occurrences that one is out to observe. Tenseness, distrust, and apathy are but three of many ways of becoming negatively conditioned to a long series of laboratory experiments. I have found that I must search hard to find a subject who could get anything like consistent results under anything like strict conditions, and in general that every resource must be used to keep the experiment interesting, and the subject's co-operation active, as one *gradually* molds the situation into that which one desires for scientific purposes.

My successor at Harvard, Dr. G. H. Estabrooks, has improved on my methods in several striking respects. First, he has chosen his subjects in a radically different manner. Instead of selecting only a few, he has rejected only those who could not or would not co-operate, has taken graduate and undergraduate students by the dozens, and many other individuals. He has found methods of winning the confidence of his subject and of interesting him in his task. The simple expedient of promising an exhibition of card tricks proved to be successful bait with a large number of undergraduate students who were taken just as they came. In view of the fact that his work is soon to be published, I can refer to his work only in a very general way. He made use of two rooms in the Harvard laboratory which are separated by a heavy double door. An automatic timing apparatus gives a signal upon which he cuts a pack of cards and concentrates intensely upon the card chosen. The same instrument causes the signal to be given in the other room in which

sits the receiver. The latter writes down instantly and without allowing himself to "think," the name or number, and the suit of a card. The results, which will soon be available for you in tabular form, show not only that great statistical difficulties would occur in applying the usual explanation in terms of chance but that the results are extraordinarily consistent. The best results are in the first five experiments with a given subject, the next best are in the next five, and at about the fifteenth experiment the results drop to what we should expect from chance. Statistical measure of chance is applied to color, suit and number. Consistently, the result from colors, that is the choice of red or black, is enormously better than the result from the suit or from the designation of the individual cards. It is to be noted that although the rooms are soundproof in the popular sense, Dr. Estabrooks himself points out that they are not so in any strict sense and that the possibility of auditory hyperæsthesia has not been completely excluded. In addition to his success in avoiding the vast expenditure of time in selecting subjects, which has occupied most previous researches, his method of intense concentration is obviously responsible for a great deal whether the results are genuinely telepathic or not. Quantitative statements of this factor of concentration are very difficult, but his entire two years' work taken together has given me, whenever I have had a chance to watch and discuss his procedure, a consistent impression that he takes hold, so to speak, of the subject matter upon which he is concentrating in a way of which I am quite incapable. He, himself, makes no claims as to the explanation of his results, and it would be even more premature for me to do so.

This then is a summary of a few of the experimental attacks on our problem. How does the situation stand today and what are our greatest needs? Perhaps the first necessity is the limitation of our hypotheses to those factors in the situation which can profitably be approached statistically or experimentally. A great deal of discussion has been put forward arguing the *a priori* likelihood of telepathy in view of a supposed analogy with wireless communication. This doctrine goes back in fact to a famous address by Sir William Crookes in which the term "brain waves" was used to name electromagnetic vibrations emitted in the process of thought. Suffice it to say that we know nothing about such waves even in the simplest cases, and even less as to the possibility of their being received and interpreted by another brain. Telepathy is with equal cheerfulness

FIGURE 2

Apparatus used for telepathic experiment at University of Groningen, Netherlands

rejected as *a priori* impossible on the grounds that it would appear to conflict with certain assumptions as to the nature of mind and body. If we face frankly the fact that we know nothing final about the relation or relations obtaining between mind and body, it will seem wiser to proceed on a purely inductive basis. The burden of proof, to be sure, has always been upon those who assert that telepathy exists, but the burden is a finite and not an infinite one. Long ago Laplace laid down the simple principle that the amount of evidence needed to convince us of a given event is proportional to the *a priori* unlikelihood of its occurrence, adding that since no event is infinitely unlikely, no phenomenon requires an infinite quantity of proof. How much proof and of what quality, is for you to ascertain by reading, by experiment, and by reflection.

Another urgent need is for a clearer distinction between laboratory investigations of the type described, and the familiar practices of the stage or the drawing-room, which go under the name of demonstrations of telepathy. The number of secret codes used by professional and semi-professional telepathists is legion, and as they are discovered new ones are constantly invented. As I change the position of my hands and feet, for example, I can signal to an accomplice in the back of the room any number desired; varying inflections of the voice are equally suitable and in equally general use. Telescopes in the roof, and hidden wiring under loose boards in the floor, are ancient and familiar, but they never fail to produce the expected results in a hall full of persons eager for a thrill. A mastery of the methods of producing fraudulent telepathic phenomena would take a man's entire time, assuming indeed that such mastery could ever be obtained. The one thing necessary is the clear recognition that performances in which arrangements are made beforehand by the professional and in which the scientist must observe as best he can, are worth nothing whatever. He must, as always, follow a method in which he can control the variables which are for him important, and can gradually increase his mastery of these until he can produce at will the phenomena whose nature he seeks to understand.

It is clear that nothing is gained by endeavoring to convince anyone that telepathic phenomena are genuine. The only method of convincing which is worth anything is the prosecution of more and more careful experiments with a greater and greater variety of methods, determining under what conditions results like those of Brugmans, Warcollier, and Estabrooks occur. The task before the

investigator today is not a polemic one. It is simply the task of steadily improving the quality and quantity of experimental work, the task of controlling more and more of the elusive variables involved, and of working towards a thorough understanding of the physiological and psychological factors which underlie the phenomona. If the experimenter is working with something which is really new to science, his task is to find out where it comes from, what conditions in the individual's make-up or in the setting of the experiment are important for its appearance or non-appearance. When he has succeeded in such a mastery of the whole situation that he can predict the occurrence of the phenomena, and can at will institute the conditions necessary for their observation, he may call for and obtain the glad coöperation of the world of science. When he feels that the scientific world is, in general, hostile, he can but keep true to his program and wait patiently, until such time as he has within his hands a technique so perfect, and a phenomenon so definite, that it can become the property of any scientist who is interested in studying and in duplicating his procedure.

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PART IV

Antagonistic to the Claims that Such Phenomena Occur

CHAPTER XIII

THE ANIMUS OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

By Joseph Jastrow

I

It is unfortunate that the issues involved in "Psychical Research" require fundamental considerations of logic; for logic, whether through scholastic or other disciplinary associations, is commonly rated as a forbidding study. This is at once a misfortune and an anachronism. Logic directs the procedure of all the sciences and when properly tempered is an instrument for the practitioner of whatever art. Even Mathematics is but logic of quantitative relations. More generally, logic is the universal method of evidence and proof, of discovery and conclusion and verification. It deals with the basic concepts and processes that "architect" the plans of all scientific enterprises. Its unpopularity, if not the result of indolent prejudice or misconception, may be ascribed to its seeming barrenness, its apparent abstraction from living interests, its remoteness from the phenomena or content of science, of which it is falsely regarded as the dried husk or form. It is condemned as a formal science. It is more truly the indispensable compass by which the ship of science and of life steers, whatever the goal or purpose of the rational venture. Admittedly a compass never made any discoveries; but without it few of the important navigations would have been possible. Science aims at truth, and the search for truth requires the avoidance of error. Of many "things," ideas and facts alike, it may be said that like much that is offered as news, they would be important if true; unless true they cannot be important. "What is the truth?" is here as of old the critical question; and logical criteria determine the answer.

The essential problems of Psychical Research and the controversial aspect which they assume are alike shaped by the logical approach; but since this is intimately affected by the psychological attitude, I apply to the joint product the term *"animus."* The sciences in the several stages of their history reflect the animus of the period; but all have come through a long and laborious discipline to a strict-

ly objective—animus free—attitude. The geologist or the zoologist has but the one purpose, to determine—and he uses guesses or hypotheses in doing so—how the earth was formed, or how the animal life with which it is peopled arose, what is the structure, function, mode of action of the inorganic and organic phenomena revealed to an impartial yet discerning observation. If he has to meet—to support or oppose—let us say, a "fundamentalist" view, a special animus may enter. The science of mind, though beset with peculiar difficulties, shares with the other sciences the mode of approach to and conquest of truth; it proceeds upon the same logic, and shares with the rest the vicissitudes of the career of reason. It will appear in the sequel that the investigations which some phases of "Psychical Research" undertake might more appropriately be referred to the physicist, others to the biologist, and only a portion to the psychologist, were it not that the ramifications of the problems thus precipitated almost invariably involve psychological considerations to account either for their occurrence or for the belief in them. And the mind, the instrument of our logical powers, is likewise the complicated medium of our emotions, our desires, needs, motives, and their satisfaction. Our logical procedures are saturated with the trends and products of our psychological nature, and are often strangely shaped by them. Such is the story of human behavior, mental behavior, belief behavior more particularly, which is so essential to the understanding of "Psychical Research" and its animus. Yet the director of our excursion and inquiry is logic,—logic under the tutelage of psychology.

A fundamental logical problem arises through the inherent entanglement of fact and theory, of an observation and its interpretation. If these twin operations of the mental endowment had always been clearly and correctly distinguished, the history of human thinking would be very different from the actual record. It may seem derogatory to the intelligence of an audience or a reader to insist on so elementary a point; but here is the parting of the ways. A slight deviation in direction, when continued, may lead to widely separated, wholly incompatible conclusions, to sober wisdom, or extravagant folly, or if vertically extended, determine whether a building shall stand or fall. Logic is likewise the plumb-line of science. *C'est le premier pas qui coute* would be a suitable motto for a constructive Society for Psychical Research.

Of this precept there is an apt illustration illuminating the psy-

chology of deception. In a familiar trick of the conjuring stage the performer collects from among the audience a series of finger rings, hammers them flat, rams them into a pistol, which he fires at a box, from which he in turn removes one box after another until in the last box are found intact, and tied to decorative favors, the original rings which he restores to their astonished owners. The technique of the trick is that it is all done *before* the trick proper is staged: at the instant of the magician's right about face to return to the stage, the wand on which the rings have been collected changes hands, the true rings remaining in the palm of the performer and the sham ones flourished on the wand. The rest is mere camouflage to add versimilitude to an otherwise improbable tale. A parallel bit of sleight of mind is usually subtle than the sleight of hand. But the clue lies in the elusiveness of the word *fact,* as in the natural or naive assumption that the brass rings shown are the golden ones collected. In sincere cases the deception, the substitution of a golden inference for a brass fact, is perpetrated unwittingly by the performer upon himself. So before all and above all, let us not be blinded by the word *fact.*

> "Foremost of all, emblazoned at the head of every column, loudest shouted by every triumphant disputant, held up as paramount to all other considerations, stretched like an impenetrable shield to protect the weakest advocate of the great cause against the weapons of the adversary, was that omnipotent monosyllable which has been the patrimony of cheats and the currency of dupes from time immemorial,—Facts, Facts, Facts."

So wrote Oliver Wendell Holmes fifty years ago; and the admonition is as pertinent today. Unquestionably back of all the investigations and conclusions summarized under the convenient label of "Psychical Research" stands a varied assortment of facts; but what the facts are is as integral and intricate part of the problem as what they mean; fact and interpretation are fused in one reaction. So we are led to the interesting inquiry as to how the human mind gets its "facts". If there were a fact-getting department of the total human equipment—most fitly termed the psyche, and which does the mental business of our busy world of behavior and ideas,—and a quite separately organized conclusion-drawing bureau, the attainment of a critical, logical judiciary in the mental dominion might be a simpler achievement than it actually is. The members of the logical staff—observation and inference among them—do indeed work

together, but in no complete harmony. The story of the mind is not so artless; the mental adventure is not so simply conducted. Part of that story may be recalled.

The first book, the Genesis, takes us to our anthropological past, not exactly a garden of Eden, but a different version—logical rather than moralistic—of the tale of the tree of knowledge and its fruits. We may adopt the accredited terminology of our day. James gave us the memorable phrase: *the will to believe,* which is the animus of much primitive and not a little advanced thinking. In the quest for knowledge *homo* however *sapiens* doesn't start from a neutral zero; his mind is a belief-seeking rather than a fact-seeking apparatus; he welcomes facts and finds them and makes them to bolster his beliefs. His beliefs, like his prejudices, are determined by the satisfaction they afford. This most significant principle, not unknown to our historic philosophies, awaited our critical day for a convincing, explicit formulation.

It is the principle that is embodied in the Freudian "wish". In Freud's analysis of the sources of belief and behavior, he discovers several mechanisms pertinent to the beliefs which Psychical Research encounters and attempts to establish. The first of the relevant Freudian principles is phantasy: the impressive observation that much primitive thinking of the race, of the child, of the less rigidly tutored adults in all classes, is imagining—day-dreaming when frankly indulged in—richly sprinkled or saturated or encrusted with the products of the imagination, even when fairly rigorously conducted. Its motive is expressed in the pleasure principle: that unless checked by the harsh discipline of reality, we tend to believe what is pleasant and consoling; in more complex minds, what is æsthetically appealing, interesting esoteric, even exotic. It is a natural and helpful quality of our emotional mood; we hope for good fortune and pleasant thrills, even while we fear bad fortune or ennui; otherwise we should yield too readily to despair, fatalism, or pessimism, and the edge of our endeavors would be too easily dulled, our outlook too barren. The ignorance that is bliss is a rather primitive variety of the happiness, for which we sophisticated heirs of all the ages turn to the satisfactions of knowledge. Doubtless with the dissipation of ignorance we sacrifice some of our blissful perquisites; for such is the story of the tree of knowledge. Opposed to Freud's pleasure principle is his reality principle. We are forced to make terms with fact and face the actual world, however harsh it may prove to be,

or indifferent to our deep desires. Hence the conflict logical, moral, and social, which makes life a struggle, often an ordeal. A secondary Freudian mechanism is rationalization, finding in logical reasons the justifications of our emotionally inspired motives.

A third approach to the same conclusion comes from psychiatry, the truly modern study of the mind's aberrations. It likewise has contributed to the coinage of our psychological vocabulary. Bleuler called it *autistic* thinking, home-spun, or self-starting, but now prefers to call it *dereistic,* or deviating from the real, and finds its patterns in simple or elaborate design, in the fully blossomed delusions of the insane, and the "insanoid," the mentally unstable. Autistic thinking is an ardently pursued and intensive wish-thinking, with a large range of expression, from innocent vagaries to unchecked extravagancies fatal to the integrity of reason. And now in the year 1926 appears a populariser of the doctrine, who, feeling the lack of a term to describe the persuasive mental habit,—which he finds as current in the select philosophies and scientific centers as in the forums and market-places and gossiping circles of the every-day world—invents one and calls it *thobbing.* Generally speaking, men don't think; they just thob. "When a person THinks without curiosity, has an Opinion because he likes it, Believes what is handy —then he THOBS. The mental life of the race has been a tumultuous chaos of *thob, thob, thob.*" (Henshaw Ward: Thobbing, A Seat at the Circus of the Intellect. 1926). Mr. Ward, who thus comments on the passing show of the vanity of knowledge from "a seat at the Circus of the Intellect," would have made a stronger case had he avoided the fallacy of indiscrimination—the usual trap for cynics—or reminded himself that the obsequies of grave scientists are not held at a circus; but that is a venial transgression of logic or taste. In truth, thobbing abounds; but the thobbing of the disciplined mind attempting the role of leadership which attracts Mr. Ward's bludgeon, is of a finer texture and differently motivated from the thobbing of the ordinary man; though, possibly if we go back far enough, the two have a common genealogy, or motivation history.

There is a popular primitive thobbing, suggested by Mr. Burgess' welcome distinction between "bromides" and "sulphites." Mr. Ward's artillery is directed against sulphitic thobbing. But we do better to take our psycho-social heredity seriously, and accept Professor Levy-Bruhl's suggestive finding that the intellectual products of early man

present a pre-logical stage of mentality. Not only are the "primitive's" interests differently oriented, but the concepts by which he interprets the world—which to him is of his making as ours is of ours—are differently centered; and consequently his beliefs move in a different logical medium also they are directed by a different animus. In contrast to ours they lack *objectivity*. The part of a phenomenon—to adopt as neutral a word as is available—which to him is a fact is to us an alien, a crude and bizarre interpretation. There thus arises a world that may be simply called a world of magic, an authentic folk-lore product, attractively portrayed by Andrew Lang and Edward Clodd for ready understanding, and giving rise to an appreciation of the place of primitive mentality in our psychological age—the result of many contributions from master minds. Viewed from a different approach it is a world of mysticism; under another shift of perspective it becomes the occult world; under still another a world of myth and fairy-tale; restrospectively from a mature sophisticated outlook, a world of credulity or superstition. The constitution of that world and the forces and types of ideas operative in it are fortunately familiar, for its products in the genera and species of belief have never become extinct. They continue as *survivals* (an anthropological term introduced by Tylor) and cluster about *animism* (another term of Tylor's), which means that the forces of nature, the happenings of our real and the primitive imaginary world are patterned upon human emotions, beliefs, motives, and thus register the naïve psychology of the primitive man, seeing nature in his own image. Such is the anthropological—I had almost said the anthropoid—source of (some phases of) Psychical Research, which it will repay to consider closely.

II

Of the score of beliefs that play a part continuously from primitive folk-lore to the most scientifically formulated Psychical Research, two must suffice for illustration. (1) The first is the total conception of the world (what to us is a physical cosmos plus a psychological experience, but which to less schooled minds is confusedly merged) as centered about *human personalised interests, and dominated by forces thus motivated,*—a *Weltanschauung* that produces a world of magic, mysticism, occultism. A spiritistic rendering is just one, but an historically important formulation of it. This fused psychophysical (and so much more inherently psychic than physical) world

of early culture-stages, whether projected in (a) folk-lore, in (b) pseudo-scientific, or in (c) scientific (the term for the moment implying intention and ambition rather than conformity to an exacting logical standard) usually engenders either as the dominant interpretation or as a by-product, a spiritistic other-world reference. (2) The other central, pivotal idea is the existence of *unusual individuals* in touch with these forces, capable of commanding them, interpretating them, responsive to them, in brief and in extenso,—*mediums;* hence the convenient phrase, originated I believe by Flournoy, *mediumistic phenomena. Occultism* as a primitive philosophy—extending the term to the pre-logical and early logical stages—and the *medium,* the sensitive, the magician, the seer, the exorcist, the forecaster, the premonitionist, and the associated caste of *personae* of the psychic occult drama, speak the folk-lore prologue to Psychical Research. Whether we accept it as drama or as science or as religion, it has unmistakably this genealogical or evolutionary affiliation.

It would take us too far afield to document this conclusion. What must be made plain is that the "primitive mentality" and "folk-lore" evidence establishes as a universal product of the human mind a psychically animated, personally significant, occult world, bristling with forces (in later stages calmly and objectively apportioned to the several sciences) that must be faced, or appeased, or avoided, or constantly considered in the daily behavior, and which holds the clue of cause and effect in regard to everything that occurs to man here and hereafter. Charms and amulets, totems and taboos, fortune-telling and auguries, the hidden arcana of nature in signs and symbols, and the resulting paraphernalia of rites and ceremonies, grow out of the common belief in some form of occultism, that underlies, interpenetrates, accompanies and reconstitutes and gives higher significance to the practical world of occupation; by its dominance it stands as an obstacle to the discovery of material cause and effect in the naturalistic scheme as we moderns know it so familiarly and dominantly. The story of thinking is the story of the long struggle and slow emergence of the single-threaded scientific view of things as they present themselves to an objective observation, detached from a personalised interpretation of the meaning of events and forces.

As an interlude, consider a trivial instance and the trifling is often telling by the very obviousness of its irrelevance. Should any one of our friends let slip the bromidic observation that it always rains when he sets out for the day without an umbrella, we comment charitably

upon his indulgence in a feeble bit of wit if, as we assume, he is a rationalist, or in a feeble bit of occultism if he is serious. The provocation may be sufficient to the manipulator of the collar-button that, when dropped, is spirited away to unfindable space of unknown dimensions to regard this behavior of the law of gravity not, as in responsible moments, as a dull neutral principle of physics, but as a personally directed malicious conspiracy. Nor is the logic any different when one accepts the forced cancellation of a passage on a ship that meets with disaster as actually or almost providential. Such harmless (or harmful) "thobs" belong to the order of thinking that builds the kind of a world from which we have laboriously emerged, and have in inclination but partially outgrown. It has recently been captioned: The Escape from the Primitive.[1]

In its own right the folk-lore world is an engaging one, and the range of its inclusions runs the gamut of human interests, concerns, ventures. Its records and products are human documents of significance for evolutionary psychology; and its logic well merits serious study. But for the practical logic of science it offers—like the lighthouses erected on dangerous reefs—illumination by which to steer away from them. The limitations of the present apercu cannot give it the vivid, varied, and rich illustration which its importance in the evolution of thinking and its bearing on certain phases of Psychical Research warrant. Its wealth of deposits uncovered by modern psycho-archaeological excavations shows at all levels cultural and psychical relics wrought in the hey-day and the grey day of occultism,—using this term to indicate a fairly complex and variable philosophy. If we could enter into the mental occupations of a thorough-going occultist's life—whether in a primitive cave-dwelling or nomadic setting, or in a reconstructed retreat of a latter-day renaissance, we might realize what a different world would be ours if the Psychical Research temper or inclination (or its issues) were actually carried out behavioristically in a day of busy twentieth-century occupation and interpretation; or, since there is slight temptation to such projection, how double a mental life, how disintegrated a personality would appear if there were projected upon the same screen side by side the occult and the scientific occupations and contemplations of a latter-day would-be rationalist.

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[1]Carncross: The Escape from the Primitive.

III

It would likewise be worth while to consider the higher stages of the development of occultism, as it survives or is revised in a cultural stream of rich interests, and has in some measure absorbed and been amalgamated with the scientific technique and products of a later epoch. Such products we may call *pseudo-science*, prominent in the mediaeval renaissance of earlier lores and knowledge—searches and researches—which the true reconstructive logical renaissance had in turn to encounter and displace. So obvious was the disparity, along with the temptation to pursue both knowledges as a source of power, that the distinction of white magic—morally and logically accredited—and black magic, of diabolical repute—was almost inevitable. If we could turn back to the workshop of a Roger Bacon in fact and a Dr. Faustus in fiction, we might be in doubt whether we were projected to a primitive laboratory or an occult mediumistic seance-chamber. Some of the apparatus would suggest a physical experiment—and magic has been called the physics of the primitive mind—while other procedures would suggest esoteric invocations of supernormal powers from another world, readily paralleled in their temper in the naïve annals of modern Spiritualism or in the gravely respectable proceedings of a reputable Society for Psychical Research. Nor is this imaginative excursion quite unfounded; for of the Bacon of the 13th (the unluckily numbered) century it is reported that he was banished from England to a bookless and instrumentless prison in France on a charge of black magic, for conducting an order of inquiry for which, had he lived in the days of the more pretentious but less experimental Bacon of two centuries later, he might have been honored as a pioneer in the cause of science. Yet neither Bacon was free from credulity and an acceptance of terms for reality. The white and black magics were construed as beneficent or malicious employment; yet science and occultism—physics and magic—find their completer contrast not alone in the morale of their employment but in the objective spirit, and the animus of the pursuit even more than in the procedures. Compensatory to the motto of the *premier pas qui coute* would be *en toutes choses il faut considerer le fin.* The Baconian purposes rise through and above their methods.

To make this reference more intelligible and concrete in its varied pertinence to the problems of Psychical Research, we might reconsider *alchemy* for its lesson that a mixture of practical purpose, tech-

nical skill and appliances, and fanciful theory is as likely to be barren in one application as in another. The Institute of Metapsychics at Paris—perhaps the most impressive home of Psychical Research of today—is not an alchemistic retreat; but most men of science would feel as much out of place in the one as in the other, would regard both as equally mistaken however sincere enterprises, mistaken in logical foundations as well as in conception of purpose and in loyalty to the spirit of science. *Astrological* beliefs have a wider survival orbit, yet have no more place in the present-day concerns of laymen and scientists alike; they may be cited to recall the important logical lesson that the interpretation of cosmic events for their personal significance is an abomination (as James called it from a moral outlook) or a perverse employment of knowledge from the logical aspect. The admonitions, premonitions, phantasms and the like that figure in certain phases of the annals of Psychical Research are open to the like condemnation. When we come to the arts of *divination,* richly represented in the older occultism, in the mediaeval and later revivals, and in Psychical Research, we may be dealing with the same order of intellectualistic misemployment, or we may be on the track of the genuine psychological problem of how subconscious mechanisms, when ignored, or as yet undiscovered, support a belief in peculiarly endowed individuals or systems of relation, which a rationalistic explanation in involuntary movements founded on subconsciously registered indications, converts into an illuminating experiment—an introduction to "trance" psychology.

Trance states and automatisms when studied in a different temper and interest make definite contributions to psychology. If we turn to the history of *mesmerism*—animal magnetism as Mesmer called it —we are again moving in the same realm of falsely assumed cosmic powers, whereas the proper recognition of the induced states contributes to a knowledge of the inner mechanisms of psychic response, normal and abnormal. If we choose *dreams* and their interpretation, we have a similar contrast of explanation from mystic or theosophic or premonitional accounting to the truly psychological interpretations of Freud and the Freudian school. *Clairvoyance* would serve as well to indicate the range from the assumption of inspiration, transcendent gifts, to mistaken and distorted evidence, an imperfect hold on the logic of coincidence, and a general inexpertness in the handling of a problem which in this instance is capable of a scientific test, when conceived as telepathy, again but a name for an hypothesis. The

sources of error in the entire "mind-reading" evidences are manifold; either the results have proved negative when the experimnt was rigidly conducted, or the "data" again illustrate the intrusion of the marvellous through the oversight of involuntary indications, and ever again of the fallacy of the personal motive, the belief, at times the cry of despair, that when human life is at stake, laws will be suspended and the heavens open or fall. It is the old story of the comment upon the models of ships suspended from the ceilings of churches in grateful acknowledgment of rescue from shipwreck: "Where are the models of those who went down at sea?"

In brief, touch the argument where you will, the *Anschauung,* or outlook along with the evidence—in crude anthropological lore, in fanciful systems, in partly scientized test or proof—is of a nature all compact, though in detail widely divergent. The logical critic may well insist that the problem must be considered as a whole; that one is not warranted in isolating the more recent claims, positions, theories, evidence which by disciplined and informed minds formulated under a growing sense of logical responsibility (which is itself the result of that very scientific spirit which such claims in part ignore), and regard this form of evidence as totally distinct in animus, in origin, or in reliability from that which preceded it. One does not accuse the modern occultist, the modern Psychical Researcher of the same credulity, the same sponsorship of unverified and far-fetched hypotheses that gave rise so abundantly to the ancient stock of marvels, and as well to procedures and presentations of claims and evidence, to concepts and arguments which find slight hold to-day; and which the responsible Psychic Researcher, to whom at the moment I am addressing myself, would spurn as vigorously, and relegate to an outgrown stage of intellectualism as readily as would we his opponents in the modern issue. What cannot be avoided is the charge of a common weakness in logical armament, a prejudiced interpretation, a hospitality to extreme, unscientific hypotheses, an overlooking or too complacent dismissal of the sources of error, which gave rise to the Psychical Research counterpart of what was and remains the ancient error of occultism. Such errors, fallacies, intellectual misemployments, congenial convictions have, then, a folk-lore, a pseudo-scientific, and a modernly fallacious status and origin with enough in common running through them all to justify their inclusion in one evolutionary picture. They contribute covertly and overtly to the animus of Psychical Research. And in so holding we are charitably

disregarding the grossly credulous systems and beliefs, spiritualistic extravagances, the irresponsible statements and messages from the beyond, the autistic ravings or fancies, the grotesque travesties of imaginary science, and the lucrative exploitations of human emotions for greed or gain or notoriety, which those who seek them to-day and yesterday will readily find. We remain in the relatively respectable "West end" and not the depraved "East end" or Cheapside of the cult, in the nearly normal and not in the borderland of the abnormal and beyond.[2]

Yet this hop, skip, and jump over an extensive domain, far-reaching in time and in latitude and longitude of culture even more than of history or geography, affords but a glimpse and a moment of arrest upon one or another of the features of the common *mise en scene* in the psychic drama of the world and its meaning in law and purpose and destiny, which the human imagination, aided by logical skill or hampered by its limitations, has ever been able to construct to its own level of intellectual satisfaction; to find evidence for it in observation and incident, to systematise it into some sort of philosophy; to keep it alive by rite and ceremony; and in belief and practice to formulate what to most of us seems an uncouth medley, to the believer a cherished union of science and occultism, ever revolving in irregular orbits about the two foci of (1) mystic, personally regulated forces transcending those apparent in the physical universe or as yet not analysed out of a primitive synthesis which to the rationalist seems a dire confusion, and (2) the appearance of exceptional individuals in touch with this supernormal world and proving their communion in a

[2]I am aware that I am not doing justice to a small group of Psychic Researchers, who regard the possibility of transcendent forms of psychic activity as an hypothesis to be entertained in the interests of tolerance and the open mind along with the large range of obscure, unexplored, and puzzling phenomena at the frontiers of all sciences, and who personally remain immune to the relatively extreme interpretations and to the acceptance of the questionable evidence offered to substantiate them. My excuse is two-fold; first that they form a small group, and if they happen to be psychologists a definitely divergent opinion, and that the more typical course is for those at first fairly critical to yield to less critical beliefs as they go on. In these unrepresentative cases there is no animus. The second reason is that this approach requires a different type of consideration which I have attempted in an essay on "The Will to Believe in the Supernatural" in my *Psychology of Conviction*. This note is pertinent also to the case studies to which I refer in the concluding section of this discourse.

variety of mediumistic phenomena. The final touch which the science of abnormal psychology revealed to a belated enlightenment illuminated the scattered sources of such abnormality in quite a different sense, and this psychopathic insight—in part converting the supernormal into the abnormal—has become to our day and generation an integral part of the *rationalisation of the occult,* a phrase which expresses more correctly than the title of my address the specific theme which I am thus far pursuing.

To conclude, we may include what to omit would be to ignore a most prominent example of the occult in operation,—the doctrine of *witchcraft,* a familiar folk-lore belief, usually quiescent but sporadically fanned into flame by religious fanaticism,—the latest outburst in an enlightened New England. There is none of the phenomena included in the categories of "Psychical Research" for which the evidence is more abundant, versatile, and comprehensive than that for witchcraft as a reality, and for specially endowed persons capable of the practice. And yet there is no belief for which we have less inclination, despite the magnitude, the respectability, and the authenticity of the evidence. It is to us sterile, and, except historically, unreal, unattractive to our consideration, for the all sufficient reason that in intellectual concept, in moral mood, in quality of evidence, it falls completely out of the scheme of things, as we frame it. We can point to no comprehensive investigation by which it was disproved, either by a scientific commission of inquiry or a hospitably minded Society for Psychical Research. It was simply outgrown, and does not demand, as do other sets of belief not quite in the same class yet not quite out of it, that still flourish and reappear in more modern setting and consequently play a part in a controversial inquiry, sufficient importance to be selected as the subject of a course of lectures in a progressive New England University. Witchcraft has been rationalised out of existence; not so ectoplasm or telekinesis or cryptesthesia, all more "classic" and laboratoryized hypotheses, which, to venture on prophecy, will by the further progress of the same intellectualistic readily erased between the observational fact and the inferential movement meet with the same fate. Let us add a concrete detail, or two, which will once more set in clear relation the dividing line so belief.

An additional reason for citing witchcraft is not only the voluminousness of the evidence, but its circumstantiality. The argument is often advanced that "imagination" in the popular sense cannot create

itemized details of perception—which is often what is offered as a fact. Yet when in one instance eight witnesses, four men and four women, affirmed on oath that they had seen visiting the suspected witch "A white thing in the likeness of a Cat, yet not altogether so big, a white dog with some sandy spots and very short legs, and Vinegar Tom, a greyhound with long legs", we must not go too far in emphasizing the different play that we give to our imagination in that age and in this. Beliefs create facts then and now; and when the beliefs fade away the evidence ceases to occur. The specific evidence appears when and where the belief prevails and not elsewhere, or any other time, and at the level and in the terms of the intellectual status, the knowledge and the logic and the practical skill of the believers. The moral holds, and that is the pertinent consideration.

Again, on the bodies of witches were found insensitive areas; these were pointed to as proof that a compact had been made with the devil; for the seal of his power was the law-defying spots produced by his touch. Pins to test these diabolical spots are exhibited in the Salem museum. We now know that such anaesthetic spots occur in hysterical cases. The fact was a real fact; but what a painfully slow and laborious course in rationalism the human race had to undergo, what varieties of disciplines had to be cultivated, before the one type of interpretation could give way to the other. From witchcraft to hysteria (and shall I say from Salem to Worcester?) is a long, momentous journey through busy centuries; and the story may be read in full historical perspective in Andrew D. White's monumental work. The present citation is only by way of contrast of the "white" logic of science and the "black" logic of the occult. Before considering the actual phenomena by means of which a small band of modern votaries aim to establish the reality of "facts" that have a similar implication, it is indispensable to realise, fully, vividly, and concretely, just how momentous is the issue at stake.

IV

It is true that the growing spirit of science in all thought and activity and outlook profoundly affects the mode of inclusion of what in the older setting was the occult, in the newer the supernormal, in the newest the metapsychical interpretation,—all of which take their places in the present exposition as a continuous development, with an ever advancing standard of "scientific" claim and values. In the world-picture run on a rapid reel we may envisage in closest juxtaposition the old and the new; the unfolding panorama of the occultist evolution runs through the ages with a growing approximation to

the methods of science in some instances, and more commonly in a current wholly detached. In general the present day temper of Psychical Research realizes definitely its obligation to the logic of science; it claims—in its uppermost level of exposition—a place for exceptional phenomena under the same rigor of evidence, the same *modus probandi* by which have come the accredited findings of all science. From that height it ranges down to a crude occultism, a naïve credulity, an uncritical, autistic indulgence as much out of range of our scientific prospect as the mediaeval or the primitive acceptance. In residential status, it spreads from the most select purlieus of the intelligentsia to the veriest slums of belief, where we shall not attempt to follow it. The literature of the "occult" in all its ramifications would require a vast library to house the printed records of its assertions, revelations, systems, and claims; perhaps a few rods of these shelves would suffice to set forth the essence of the story in so far as it is still of interest and still affects the beliefs of modern times; and a few feet would contain all that were composed under the intention or the conviction of loyalty to the logically evidential standards of our critical day. If among these I select one that in such intention clearly stands in the first rank, it would be the "Thirty Years of Psychical Research" of Charles Richet, a physiologist of distinction, the holder of a Nobel prize in science, honored in his years by the very colleagues who repudiate sharply his very position, if indeed they take it seriously, instead of viewing it with a mingling of respect, dismay, and amazement.

Certainly in opposing to the last ditch the conclusions and the animus of Psychical Research I can do no less than select as its exponent the most favorable example of the position involved. I choose the book of Richet because he so explicitly recognises the implication of the entire movement; there is no question of compromise or evasion. The issue remains steadily a question of truth or error, of the most baffling truth ever vouchsafed to the mind of man, or of the most stupendous error; it is either the golden book of wisdom or the dross record of folly. So decisive an issue is entitled to a new terminology; the book is called a "Treatise on Metapsychics." It heralds not only a new science, but marks the dividing line challenging all science. And all this is admitted by Richet, the convinced advocate of the metapsychical world after thirty years of investigation, quite as readily as by myself, as equally convinced after a like period of consideration of the baselessness of the entire structure. As

I see it, we must accept for better or for worse, for richer or poorer the one kind of a world which presents an orderly, logical, objective system of events and the laws of their conditioning, from which "metapsychics" is excluded and the seeming exceptions to normal behavior of things the human powers, is to be otherwise accounted for on a naturalistic basis; or a world shot through or streaked with rare incidents of transcendence of the usual laws of matter and mind, in which things happen in accord with a very different system of relations; a world as sharply opposed to the one which most men of science recognise as is a flat world, with the sun travelling over it for human benefit, to a round world spinning on its axis in a mathematical orbit about an indifferent sun. We may give up without regret, except for the retrospective reference, the "occult" and all its implications and accept the "metapsychics" of Richet. The trial is on; it is either Psychology alive and Metapsychics dead, or vice versa. Still more; it is Science or Meta-science: Richet and a handful of similarly minded combatants against the entire personnel of Cattell's "American Men of Science," supplemented by a like selection of the leaders in science in all other countries where a similar directory could be compiled.

In this and many of the illustrations that follow I am giving preference to the French Psychical Researchers because they so explicitly proclaim the challenge of science, and have carried their conclusions boldly to their consequences. There is an English counterpart which even more explicitly aims at "psychic science", and sponsors a "College" with a like experimental equipment, and an equal adherence to the procedures of the laboratory, yet (with few exceptions) introducing the very element that violates the conditions of a critical test. As a consequence equally extravagant conclusions, equally obvious logical discrepancies and aberrations, equally grotesque travesties of scientific procedure, equal credulities, could be cited from English sources. And it remains characteristic—as in the publication called "Psychic Studies"—that fairly critical and restrained expositors of experiences, who though they accept a supernormal explanation do so with a commendable sense of responsibility, find themselves in the company of irresponsible, and fantastic speculators, revelling in the miraculous, and committed to the acceptance as genuine, of evidence so repeatedly proven fraudulent that there is no rhyme or reason for raising the ancient issues in the terms of modernised and seemingly scientized performances. It is noteworthy that some contributors and adherents of this movement begin in the one class, and as they proceed grow into the other; their logical stability recedes as their "psychic" experience advances. The animus

of the French or the English or any other similarly constituted esoteric group is not minutely but generically comparable.

Assuming, then, that what Richet wishes mostly that his readers should know appears in the introductory pages, we read:

"I have endeavored to write on science, not on dreams; and I have therefore confined myself to a statement of facts and discussions of their actuality, not only without advancing any theory, but scarcely mentioning theories, for all theories as yet proposed to account for metapsychic facts seem to me terribly frail;...to establish the facts is our primary duty and our only duty; the facts are facts; they are numerous, authentic, and startling... I do not see how any man of science can cast doubt upon all of them..."

"The three fundamental phenomena of this new science can be summed up in three sentences.

(1) Cryptesthesia (the *lucidity* of former writers) is a faculty of cognition that differs from the normal sensorial faculties.

(2) Telekinesis is a mechanical action that differs from all known mechanical action, being exerted at a distance and without contact on persons and objects, under certain determinate conditions.

(3) Ectoplasm (the materialization of former writers) is the formation of diverse objects, which in most cases seem to emerge from a human body and take on the semblance of material realities—clothing, veils, and living bodies.

"These make up the whole of metapsychics. It seems to me that to admit this much is to admit a great deal. To go farther is to go beyond the present limits of science."

"It has been my intention to remove from the facts called "occult," many of which are indisputably true—supernatural and mystical implications."

"I shall divide our subject-matter into Objective [(2) and (3) above] and Subjective Metapsychics [(1) above]"

"The assassination of Queen Draga was announced in Paris... at the very minute that it was committed in Belgrade, by a medium who could have had no normal means of cognizance of this crime. This is a fact of subjective metapsychics."

table—her hands, her feet, her knees, her waist, her head, and her

"Eusapia Palladino placed her hands half a yard above a heavy mouth were all held; the table rose off its legs without contact. This is a fact of objective metapsychics."

"The facts of metapsychics are neither more nor less mysterious than the phenomena of electricity, of fertilization and of heat. They are not so usual; that is the whole difference."

"Mediums have not hitherto been treated with justice; they have been slandered, ridiculed and vilified... If by any chance a powerful physical medium or sensitive were discovered, instead of leaving such a one to the curiosity of the ignorant, to journalists, and to ladies who

consult them on a lost dog or a faithless lover, they should be assured of liberal board and lodging, perhaps more, to prevent their mediumship being degraded by base necessities... In short, mediums should be claimed for science—severe, just and generous science—instead of allowing their wonderful faculties to be prostituted by childish credulity or damaging contempt... Metapsychic problems should be treated as problems of pure physiology... Let us experiment with these rare, privileged and wonderful persons and remember that they deserve to be treated with all respect, but also that they must never be trusted."

In these less than six hundred words from a book of more than six hundred pages, there are involved enough logical fallacies (I use the term in the liberal sense of any distinctive deviation from accepted principles of reasoning) to occupy a class of sophomores profitably and with only an elementary depth of analysis for six hours, and a class of graduate students prepared to enter into all the ramifications of the logical intrigue for six weeks. With every desire to consider with respect the arguments of a distinguished man of science, I cannot comment in any other terms than those of complete amazement upon the singular and naïve lack of the logical flair,—that measure of logical penetration by no means uncommon in competent sophomores. I can hardly bring myself to do more than ask a few doubtless disrespectful questions. Is M. Richet by chance logic blind, as some otherwise normal individuals are color blind? Is it possible that M. Richet does not see that in crediting as *facts* the thousand and one things that transcend the scientific experience, and which he admits are wholly discredited by his scientific confreres, he is woefully begging the question or befogging the issue? Is he unaware that he is assuming, inferring, conjecturing, asserting, imagining or thobbing the theory that they are of supernormal origin? Is he unaware that while professing to refrain from theories, he is none the less theorising, subtly theorising, boldly theorising at every step? Unaware that the metapsychic position is no less a theory, indeed a highly speculative fantastic hypothesis, an extravagant conjecture, quite as much as the theory of spirit agency which Sir Arthur Conan Doyle holds with every defiance of elementary logic, but which Professor Richet regards as a needless or unfounded theory in the special sense of a detailed *modus operandi* or "mechanism" theory of how the effects are produced, but which effects he regards as of supernormal origin quite as much as does Conan Doyle?

But a text in elementary logic, doubtless as accessible in France or

England as in this country, would set forth the several levels and values of theories in concept, in origin, in motivation, in intrinsic probability, in defiance or conformity of established norms, in general scientific status, and make clear that spirit belief or ectoplasm as a metapsychic phenomenon is on the same illegitimate footing. It is the animus of a theory that decides its even possible consideration. With due apology an elementary illustration may be offered. In regard to the theory of the planetary orbits Ptolemy was wrong and Copernicus was right, and Kepler and Newton righter and later still; but they were all considering an astronomical problem with the same animus, which brings them in the same line of intellectual descent, the same logical dynasty of science, the same loyalty to a scientific sovereignty however expressed. But an astrologer of Ptolemy's day might have been as well versed in the knowledge of the cosmos as was Ptolemy and as well endowed in mind; but he worked with a different animus and thus belonged to a different logical allegiance; and the same is true of an astrology—indulging Copernicus or Kepler or Newton; for it is true that some of their contemporaries of like animus were forced by the very different animus of their day to cast horoscopes for royal families in order to hold their positions, doubtless with a regret that not the stars but the psychological animus of their day imposed this fate upon them. They kept their astronomy and their astrology (so far as they had to give it shelter) in well separated compartments of their mental occupations. But how in the twentieth century a professor of physiology can find a free hospitality for concepts, theories, interpretations, which would so far delimit his chosen domain as to render it nugatory, passes my limited understanding.

Perhaps this is not the effective approach. Should one stop or stoop to question whether the story of the clairvoyant perception of the Serbian tragedy from Paris to Belgrade would hold water under the mildest shower of examination? Must one convict the believer of the tale of hopeless credulity? Must one assume that Richet does not know that Palladino was repeatedly caught in the act of lifting the table telekinetically by the aid of her left leg and the broad flange on her flexible shoes? Must men of science be versed in detective craft? Sad queries these but inevitable ones, so long as the minds of men are subject to the limitations of their total psychology, so long as a few among the elect contribute observations and conclusions recklessly challenging on evidence, flimsy, questionable, crude, and confused, the claims of accredited science, which in the interests of

public sanity and intellectual welfare, if of nothing else, cannot be ignored.

V

Such, then, is the burden of my theme: the one critical aspect of Psychical Research which I have selected for emphasis. For the rest of the equally legitimate problems and inquiries that, I readily admit, should be considered, I can only plead the limitations of time and space. Yet in a sense, they are a matter of detail, of important detail it may be. Had I a second essay at my disposal, I should willingly meet the issue as a question of logical analysis or evidential value. This has been done with extraordinary skill and admirable patience by Dr. Tuckett[3] and with a critically negative verdict; and it required a considerable volume for only a portion of the task. Since the days of his contribution the task has been made more complex by the additional and remodelled claims advanced in recent years. All I can do is to make plain what the nature of that task would be, what kinds of considerations the logical and psychological student of "Psychical Research" in the second quarter of the twentieth century would be called upon to ponder and discuss.

The reference to Dr. Tuckett's volume gives occasion to indicate the two standards of evidence—naturally not unrelated, for all logic is one—commonly employed: evidence in the legal and in the scientific sense; the former referring to the standards upon which we act in adjusting justice, hence the practical temper, and the latter in appraising the strength of conclusions, which in turn as clues alike to belief and practice we must apply with some risk and in such venture often find corroboration or disproof. Mr. Tucketts' critique applies to both phases. He places certain conclusions on trial and indicates the steps by which a verdict is reached and what it is. In the course of the argument the testimony of science as an expert and the weakness of the conclusions as scientific theories are laid bare. To follow this phase would require an extension of the logical approach with which I began; one could do justice to it only in an independent essay which would form an interesting chapter in the story of thinking. The one point I should single out for emphasis relates to the meaning of *fallacy* in the light of psychology. For as Miss Bradby has set forth with marked ability in a valuable volume that has by no means received the attention it merits (M. K. Bradby: the Logic of the Subconscious Mind) a fallacy is but the result of a psychological predilection which bends conclusions out of their orbit, towards beliefs cherished by emotional, including aesthetic trends. Among such

[3]Ivor Tuckett: Evidence of Supernatural.

fallacies she includes "The Fallacy of the Marvellous", and cites the "spirit-rapping, levitation, and materialisation", beliefs of those who "misread the world in the light of their own weakness", and to whom, in contrast to the unromantic Peter Bell, "a primrose excites wonder if it can be shown to have a primrose-spirit interpenetrating its body and unamenable to known laws", and who through lack of a fully mature sense for reason are "more moved to admiration by the banal message which has disembodied spirit raps through a medium, than by the ripe fruit of a man's literary genius." It remains to add that the "fallacious" tendencies thus revealed exist in all sorts of shades and grades of beliefs, all conditions of believers, and exercise their sway subtly and subconsciously to shape delicately tempered predilection far more commonly than they appear in rude and coarse measure, which would be intolerable to the developed standards of scientific procedure—which likewise forms a part of the heritage of all thinking people. It is only when thus projected against the background of the varieties of rationality and its limitations that the animus of Psychical Research appears in its true setting. The entire topic could be presented from this approach; whether it is more profitable to study beliefs or believers, the logic of the argument or the psychology of the attraction of the conclusion to predisposed minds.

In such necessarily foreshortened survey—based upon a much larger expenditure of time and energy in skipping and plodding through recent literature than I can professionally justify—I find some half a dozen major leads which will at least guide-post the difficult territory which the adventurer must penetrate—it may be a thicket, a jungle, a marsh, a quicksand, or an unexploited domain of hidden resources, as you prefer. Not to lose the trails, let them be enumerated. (1) *The Case Study Trail.* The interesting question of the several types of the mental make-up of the small group of men of standing who subscribe, often with the passion of a devotee, to the reality of the supernormal. Here lies the material for a worthwhile psycho-biographical study; it would be a "psychological doctor looking at the biography" of Psychical Researchers. (2) The second trail branches from it: *The Scientific Bias Trail.* To show how each exponent follows the bent that has become his through special study and interest in one and another of the scientific disciplines to which he owes the guidance of his intellectual life; his attempt to maintain or express his allegiance while in very fact repudiating it. (3) The third is the *Trial of Automatisms and Abnormalities.* There is no doubt—and this is one of the positive and constructive issues of the Psychical Research interest—that there are individuals whose psychic procedures show deviations from the usual and who make use of

automatic mechanisms, interesting in their own right and readily utilizable, if one is so minded, as evidence of the supernormal. They shade over to the abnormal; and it may or may not be wise to label a special trail criss-crossing the others: (4) *The Paranoiac Trail.* That some of the case-studies of believers, as well as the psychology of mediums, offer approaches to or actual inclusions in the paranoiac group, is unmistakable and significant. (5) The less well blazed *Trail of Logical Procedure,* with again the sub-trail of *Fraud* and another of *Coincidence,* which crosses or debouches into one or another of those indicated. In view of the fact that the most astounding conclusions are based upon performances that continue to arise, here, there, and elsewhere, it seems to be necessary for some one to formulate the logical conditions and criteria of evidence, including again the exclusion of fraud and chance. (6) *The Trail of Subtle Residues.* This is an open trail, the end of which is not in sight. It is well not to be dogmatic or final. There may be ways of indication, hints, and suggestions of sensory and perceptual type as yet unexplored, but to be explored in naturalistic manner, that may have a bearing upon apparent mind-reading and related phenomena when chance and the recognized avenues of communication have been given their due. This is not an open door to the supernormal, but like trance-states, hyperæsthesia, the processes of lightning calculators, and the subtleties of quasi-psychopathic diagnosis, a domain in which a finer perception waits upon the offices of a superior and but partly conscious logic. The common terminal of all the trails is the rationalization of the (seemingly) occult. Only by following these routes will Psychical Research overcome its somewhat questionable occupation and reputation, and become naturalized and assimilated in the organized system of highways and byways of Psychology,—a consummation devoutly to be wished.

VI

And now to add the realism of illustration a few blaze-marks along one or another of these exploratory trails. To begin with the simplest, the "case" of Conan Doyle seems to me an instance of ordinary credulity, strange only because it is presented by a man of medical training, and the creator of the deductive skill of "Sherlock Holmes," who, however, unreal as a personality, is definitely realistic in his method, and in unravelling mysteries never resorts to supernormal agencies but works with very material clues and ordin-

ary human motives. Conan Doyle believes that photographs do not lie, even when they are precisely of the character that have been proved fraudulent. He disregards the minutely circumstantial evidence of photographic fraud in the spiritualistic camp, which Mr. Prince has published after years of painstaking investigation; and Mr. Prince, far from being hostile to the "supernormal" position, is in so far sympathetic with Conan Doyle that he accepts as evidences of supernormal phenomena the revelations of private and inaccessible information through mediums and telepathists. Yet Mr. Prince is prepared to repudiate the amazing conclusions of the Society for the Study of Supernormal Photographs which Conan Doyle has founded; and would regard with the same scepticism Conan Doyle's conviction that fairies as well as spirits appear in photographs, even when the fairy photographs show the marks of the shears, consistent with the "Sherlock Holmes" conclusion that they have been cut from photographic or other prints.[4] Add to this his continued confidence in distrusted and "exposed" mediums, and such naïve credulity need not detain us long.

The case of Maurice Mæterlinck is in a measure more engaging. The fact that he is a man of letters and not of science is hardly material since Robert Browning wrote "Sludge the Medium" as a warning of suspicious fraud when some men of science of that day were inclined to be impressed. Mæterlinck is not a spiritualist only, but a miraculist. He collects miracles as others collect china or pewter. Anything sufficiently improbable and law-defying and interesting to believe he adds to his collection. He accepts mathematical horses who actually spell out his name with a German title by pawing with their hoofs. He assumes that, celebrity that he is, he can go incognito to mediums who read from a letter requesting his autograph the full, intimate details of his personality. This transcendent or translucent feat inspires the following rhapsody:

"The sheet of paper handed to the psychometer and impregnated with human 'fluid' contains, after the manner of some prodigiously compressed gas, all the incessantly renewed, incessantly recurring images that surround a person, all his past and perhaps his future, his psychology, his taste of psychology, his state of health, his wishes, his intentions, often unknown to himself, his most secret instincts, his likes and dislikes, all that is bathed in light and all that is plunged in darkness, his whole life in short, and more than his personal and

[4]W. F. Prince: My Doubts about Psychic Photographs. Scientific American, Dec., 1925.

conscious life, besides all the lives and all the influences, good or bad, latent or manifest, of all who approach him. We have a mystery as unfathomable and at least as vast as that of generation" etc., etc. Haunted houses, second sight, ghosts, wonder-cures, ouija boards, premonitions, divining rods, fortune telling—everything is in the collection and all equally credible, equally cherished and embraced with the latest marvels of ectoplasm. (Note that even a miraculist wishes to rationalize and turns to the germplasm of heredity for an analogy for his cherished beliefs.) How the pleasure principle of the imagination and the reality principles of the practical world, in which even a Mæterlinck must make constant contact, keep house in the same tenement of clay must be left to one's psychological imagination.

The Mæterlinckian type of mind is presumably common, though without the literary compensation. Its analysis would be interesting; so also that of the variety of logical fallacies underlying these cherished "arguments". They require (and furnish excellent material to illustrate) the revised version of fallacies as illuminated by psychology. The two largest sources derive from (1) the Freudian psychology of the wish, the sub-conscious unavowed wish frequently, and from (2) the persistence of the primitive, which is more common that the survival of the childish for the sufficient reason that both the modern sophisticated and the primitive mind deal with the adult perspective of feeling, thought, and motive. Thus, this notion which Mæterlinck seizes from the floating mass of folk-lore belief, and puts in literary form is none other than the "law of contact" which Frazer formulates from primitive thinking: "That things which have touched one another continue to have an effect on one another"; and which Levy-Bruhl formulates more penetratingly in enlarging and deepening it to the "law of participation", including action and relation as well as appearance; or if we prefer a formulation nearer to our day and folk-lore level, there is John Wesley's description (1770) of the "*Sympathy* which is observed in things distant from one another . . . So nothing is more common than if you throw a Mulberry or a Strawberry at a Woman with Child, the Child has the Mark of the one or the other, on the same Part which was struck with it. And these Marks grow Green, Yellow and Red every Year, just as those fruits do in the Garden. And when the Season of this is past, these subside and vanish away." Once more is illustrated how circumstantial is the "fact" that fol-

lows a belief. There were days and ways of thinking in which Mæterlinck would not present the anomaly that he seems to a twentieth century setting.

The case of Flammarion has affiliation with both the case studies reviewed, but the training is so exact a science as astronomy turns him to other analogies, while yet his collection of accredited tales from all corners of the world and all sorts and conditions of believers is even more formidable. Many of them deal with apparitions and premonitions at critical moments, particularly that of death.

"Without doubt our Psychic force gives birth to an ethereal movement which is projected to a distance like all the vibrations of ether and is felt by all brains in harmony with our own. The transformation of a psychic action into an ethereal movement, and back, may be similar to that which we observe in the telephone." . . . "The action of one spirit on another, at a distance, especially in such grave circumstances as that of death—and in particular of sudden death—the transmission of thought, mental suggestion, communication at a distance, are not more extraordinary than the action of a magnet on iron, the attraction of the moon for the sea, the carrying of the human voice by electricity, the discovery of the chemical construction of a star through the analysis of its light, and other marvels of contemporary science. Only these psychic transmissions are of a higher order and may set us on the road to knowledge of the human being."

One wishes to be as respectful as one can. It may be true that the undevout astronomer is mad, but the superstitious astronomer is afflicted with a more serious mental defection. If one found such arguments or thobbings in a dream-book prepared for the uneducated or in the groping toward truth of an obscure fifteenth century writer, or in the pages of an irresponsible faddist, they would seem in place and negligible; but their provenance invites more serious reflections. Enough to say that if the predecessors of M. Flammarion had indulged in such speculations and followed the animus of his procedure, there never would have been telephones, or electromotors, or spectroscopes, or explanations of the tides. The two worlds are aeons of culture apart; and the attempt to spin a spider-web of tenuous analogy between them must be regarded as either a puerile device or the despairing rationalization of a conscience-stricken mind; while the suggestion of "a higher order," like Richet's assumption of a "rarer" knowledge, adds the insult of confusion, the

sacrilege of learning, to the injury of simple-mindedness, the misreading of appearance.

I must include M. Geley in the budget of "cases" not only as the founder of the International Metapsychic Institute, but because he introduces the biological concept. He centres his case upon ectoplasm and the notorious Eva C. from whose body seated in a dark cabinet exudes "a plastic paste, a true protoplastic mass", "remarkably like that of the epiploon (caul)", the medium the while sighing and moaning "like a woman in childbirth", . . . "the substance having immediate and irresistible tendency toward organization." "In the more complete cases the materialised organ has all the appearance and biological function of a living organ. I have seen admirably modelled fingers, with their nails; I have seen complete hands with bones and joints. I have seen a living head whose bones I could feel, etc."

In brief here is meta-biology. The chrysalis acts like a dark cabinet on the grub; the insect is rematerialised and is then re-materialised into the butterfly. Richet accepts the same flabbergasting hypothesis and speaks of these ectoplastic products as forms of embryogenesis, and actually records in sober narrative the appearance of a living ectoplastic midget; while Flammarion, not to be outdone, explains that "these ideoplastic materialisations demonstrate that the living being can no longer be considered as a mere cellular complex. It appears primarily as a dynamo-psychism, and the cellular complex which is its body appears as the ideoplastic product of this dynamo psychism. Thus the formations materialised in mediumistic seances arise from the same biological process as normal birth. They are neither more nor less miraculous or supernormal; they are equally so. The same ideoplastic miracle makes the hands, the face, the viscera, the tissues, and the entire organism of the foetus at the expense of the maternal body, or the hands, or the face, or the entire organs of a materialization."

It is in view of these excesses in the pronouncements of men of science that I suggested the need of the paranoiac trail evident in delusionary ravings of less learned but not more extravagant followers who, lacking the stabliser of a scientific training, indulge freely in romancing satisfactions of revelations from the beyond.

For good measure I add a citation from Dr. Boirac, Rector of the University of Dijon:

"I place between the subject's hands the glass of water destined to receive the exteriorisation of his *nerve force.* I take a *second glass of* water destined to receive *my own nerve force.*" . . Allowing sufficient

time for "sensitiveness to be exteriorised", "I now take a U-shaped copper wire covered with gutta-percha, but revealing the bare metal at both ends... The wire thus plays the part of a conductor between the two glasses." Under complete silence "the subject reacts with great vigor to every pinch (upon the skin of Dr. B.) as if feeling the pain quite acutely." "The act of pulling my hair caused in my subject a very painful sensation." "As I sipped a few drops of chartreuse, the subject . . . exclaimed, 'What are you making me drink? It is very strong; it seems like brandy.'" In such experiments (?) and the action of the thoughts of the dying, he sees something similar to "Hertzian waves and wireless telegraphy."

The case of Dr. Crawford is most instructive. He is an engineer; his subject, the usual *jeune femme* of the drama, lifts a table and performs similar feats of what Richet calls telekinesis; but the explanation is that a psychic rod acting as a cantilever is exuded from the body of the medium and lifts the table or makes raps; and by adopting a code the "operators" (he does not like to call them spirits) by taps assure Crawford that his theory is correct. Sir Bryan Donkin, M.D., calls attention to the "superabundant exposure of the massive credulity and total defect of logical power displayed by Dr. Crawford (who gives) the most pathetic picture of a willing victim of pernicious deception." Dr. Crawford committed suicide. After his death a further examination of the medium was made by the translator of the sumptuous volume of Schrenck-Notzing and Mme. Bisson, the sponsors of the ectoplastic performances of Eva C., which the translator credits as genuine; contrary to expectation he discovered definite evidence of fraud photographically documented. He agrees with a hostile critic that "the cantilever which worked the experiments in Crawford's book was the leg of that Irish medium." The minute detail of apparatus and all the paraphernalia of an engineering experiment which fills the Crawford books must ever remain an amazing document in the story of the metapsychic. As proof of what prepossession can do to a trained mind the case is invaluable.

I could continue indefinitely. Enough has been cited to show how each mind resorts to the legimate concepts of science, physical, biological, mechanical to give the conclusions the appearance, really the pathetic travesty of a scientific demonstration, but ever with an underlying animus that nullifies and is wholly incompatible with the most elementary allegiance to science and logic alike. The cases of *physical* phenomena (objective in Richet's sense) may be referred to

clever and deliberate fraud; but that is their lesser interest. The question of why such experiments (?) are devised and the conclusions advanced is more significant than are the details of how the effect is actually produced. The "Case" trial, and the trail of "Scientific Bias" appear clearly; and that of "Logical Procedure" no less. As soon as one type of performance is exposed another appears; but the point emerges that if any such claim is to be met and its examination conducted after the logical pattern of an experiment, then the one supreme condition is that the *experimenter* and not the medium shall control the conditions. That indispensable requirement is always evaded, though seemingly accepted. At the crudest we are told that light is inimical to these occult forces; so the shelter of darkness which nullifies the control is resorted to; or if not that, the screen of the table which conceals the modus operandi; or one is forbidden to stand at the only place from which the operation could be detected; and there are curtains and cabinets and holding of hands, and clever tricks of release from apparent control, and rigid examinations of the body which still leave a loophole of concealment; and ever the neglect of the observation that as such controls are made rigid, the phenomena are curtailed, while the amazing performances reported occur when such control is relaxed. Yet they are recorded with the implication that the conditions of one seance, which in results was substantially "negative", were observed at another when the law-defying marvels appeared. The whole atmosphere of the conditions is repellent to the scientific mind, and the time and patience expended in this pursuit by men whose training and positions entitle them to protection from such service is by no means a credit to the intelligence of our supposedly enlightened day. All this may sound dogmatic, when reduced to such curtness of statement; but the documentation is all too ample, and, to repeat, pathetic.

VII

Naturally the more responsible advocates of "Psychical Research" beliefs turn with greater confidence to the subjective aspect (in Richet's sense)—substantially the revelation of unknown facts, either in a trance state or in a normal condition, by persons endowed with peculiar powers. That we are here dealing with a different problem, I have made clear; though the possibilities of fraud and chance have to be carefully considered. In this phase, also new devices have been invented; such as the "book-test" and the mental picture reading,

which in one notable instance engages the attention of so distinguished a scholar as Gilbert Murray. The argument is complex and may involve quasi-abnormal states on the one hand, and very different logical problems on the other. The "book-test" consists in having a medium indicate a page in a volume in a library which he or she is supposed not to know, and then find the reference peculiarly apt. It is a vague, inconclusive performance, and the possibility of estimating the operation of coincidence is practically impossible. Dr. Slosson had the happy idea of imitating the book-test experiment without the aid of a medium, and by chance alone; and found enough surprising pertinence in the passages thus selected to convince one inclined to believe in a supernormal thought transference of its reality; yet the resulting pertinence was pure chance. While as to the Gilbert Murray mind reading, one can only say that the clues may be lost in some cases, the experiment may be loosely conducted in others, and the open possibilities that remain await the ingenuity of further experimentation, though ever beset with the uncertainty of how far our similar training and interests and stock of knowledge may account for the measure of success in transferring a picture from one mind to another. Subtle residues remain; but they do not alter the general verdict. If it is worth while to do so, they can be followed too a clearer issue.

Perhaps I can suggest the order of incident and inquiry here pertinent, if I cite from the work of Jung, who has made a shrewd and sympathetic study of the psychology of the medium from a legitimate psychological and psychopathic position, the fact that Nietzsche —a distinctly psychopathic individual of rare endowment—introduces in his Zarathustra (1883) a rhapsodical story of men landing on an island, shooting rabbits, and seeing men fly through the air, which actually came from the log of the ship *Sphinx* (1686) as recorded in Justinus Kerner's *Blatter aus Prevorst* which Nietzsche read between the ages of twelve and fifteen but had not seen since. Such subconscious memories—for no one would suspect plagiarism—indicate similar mechanisms at work in minds of this order. To Richet this would be a case of cryptomnesia paralleling his cryptæsthesia. It has a naturalistic explanation. Nor is it without interest to note that when a classical scholar steeped in the allusions and technique of the literary record, "telepaths", he reveals or "gets" material in the dominant "medium" of his interests; when an archæ-

ologist[5] has revelations, they are of archæological content, which (as in dreams) his trained and informed mind could work up in conscious thought near to their solutions and then complete in subconscious mood or by such aid. Revelations, like explanations, follow the apperceptive bend of the training of the personality involved.

What we gain from this supplementary survey is a more vivid picture of the nature of the arguments which constitute the repertory of Psychical Research and follow from its animus. Perhaps the dominant lesson of the trails is the *rationalisation* motive, the desire under modern responsibility to infuse into ancient trends of belief a scientific warrant; yet the attempt is a strange often a pathetic perversion, an irreconcilability of holy oil and polluted water; or more pertinently, as we read the fantastic explanations for phenomena that for the most part are fraudulently produced for the benefit or mystification of believers, we recognize that the voice is or resembles the authentic voice of a scientific Jacob, but the hands betray the crude touch of the primitive, occult Esau. Doubtless I shall be met with the rejoinder that I am proceeding eclectically and dogmatically according to my own skeptical bias, rather than than appraising the top-cream of the evidence which alone is convincing to the critical Psychic Researcher, who is as ready as I am to discard most of the bulky evidence as debris of primitive culture, and its survivals in the credulous and unschooled of our day; when it is not deliberate fraud which abounds and flourishes, as they equally admit, under the stimulus of the belief in the occult and the unusual, or the explanations are amenable to well known principles of normal and abnormal psychology. But the residue, they say, is genuine and cannot be discarded. Well! logic is against them though with no finality, but with an overwhelming probability. We are in face of what has been termed the great divergences, but not as in the usual sense, of schools and "isms" with much in common in belief and animus, but with completely divergent views of the lessons of science and the laws of reason.

If such admission of an open trail protects me from the one charge, it remains only to meet the charge of eclecticism. It is easily done. The argument as I have met it suggests the nursery refrain:

> The lion and the Unicorn were fighting for the crown;
> The lion beat the Unicorn all around the town.

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[5]Bligh Bond: *The Gate of Remembrance.*

Some gave him white bread and some gave him brown;
Some gave him plum-cake and drove him out of town.

The controversial differences remain; some award the plum-cake; I am in the driving group. But it is not a matter of disposition. More seriously I am asked why I refuse to accept the unicorn, when as is well known lions are real, and the encounter is so circumstantially rendered. Moreover since the unicorn shows so many features of an authentic zoological horse, why this violent prejudice against the horn? In addition one may see the horn in rare specimens in museums, (though it happens to be that of a male narwhal, and is not a horn but a hypertrophic tooth); and cattle have horns, yet graze on the same plains as horses. The world is not wholly explored and what is there so antagonistic to our concepts of nature in the unicorn? Well, only this; that the zoological world is one world and the mythological another, though it is often difficult in the uncritical traveller's tales to separate fact from fable. The kind of interest and belief, the animus of inquiry and curiosity that leads to the embodiment of the unicorn in popular belief, is not that that leads to the orderly investigation of the fauna of the world. For heraldic purposes and for the stimulation of the imagination of children, the lion and the unicorn may stand in friendly or contentious juxtaposition; but for the serious guidance of the thoughts of men and the salvation of the logical integrity of our own and future generations, we must be critical. It is in loyalty to the "spirit" of science that I must deplore the "animus" of Psychical Research.

Finally, what is this animus that makes the great divergence despite the common concern with the phases of knowledge that we systematize as psychology? It is the pursuit of the psychical for its personal significance; it is the attempt to prove that there are forces psychical in nature that transcend the ordinary operations recognised in the psychological realm; it is the belief in the powers of specially endowed individuals to exercise such "gifts"; and all in the interest of a world quite otherwise regulated, motivated, directed than that in which we conduct our daily occupations and investigations. Professor Dunlap makes the distinction very simple by subsuming it under *mysticism,* which in the anthropological, folk lore setting, would be magic or occultism or pseudo-science, and defining that as a belief in any "third order of knowledge",—the two accredited orders being that of the senses in their observational function, and of the logical, reasoning, deductive and inductive pro-

cesses. Viewed more clinically, with allowance for the many shades and grades of this "mystical" animus, we can detect it concretely in such an instance as dreams or premonitions or divinations. That dreams are a proper subject of psychological study is obvious; to "believe" in dreams as prophetic or veridical is to inject the Psychical Research animus; and the same applies to the veridical, the vague "something in it" attitude of ordinary conversation which places the "something" in a system apart from the naturalistic one, which includes the psychological interpretation of premonitions as a combination of coincidence, community of mental habit, and allied procedures, and refers divination to subconsciously directed indications. The tendency to the "third order of knowledge" is largely a search for an æsthetic satisfaction; to yield to it makes a more interesting, personally significant world, breaks the routine of the hum-drum, and adds a charm as well as a dimension to existence. And its harm? If not carried too far and to the sacrifice of normal activities and pragmatically stable beliefs, doubtless in many instances, slight, though never negligible, and in the extreme disintegrating. With a world so thoroughly rationalised and humanitarianised as ours, the menace is much reduced. But science is too precious a social inheritance to be toyed with, and certainly to be challenged by the psychological limitations of our rationality.

University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wisconsin.

January 5, 1927.

Professor Carl Murchison,
Clark University,
Worcester, Mass.

My dear Dr. Murchison:

I appreciate your courtesy in sending me a copy of the letter of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. In reply I can only make plain that in addition to the very definite credulity to which I have referred, Sir Arthur is equally guilty of making statements which are not in accord with fact, or, to use his own expression, "entirely untrue". He indicates that of all the hundred photographs that were shown, there was only one which was questioned and he withdrew it at the suggestion of Dr. Prince. I am assuming that he is aware of Dr. Prince's article in the *Scientific American* for December, 1925, in which, for purposes of illustration, only a few of these photographs are shown, but they are *all* questioned. In order that he should not misunderstand my position which is equally the position of Dr. Walter Prince who has examined more photographs of this kind than anyone else and

whose opinion is certainly not biased since he is inclined to accept other explanations of the supernatural, I wish to say *everyone of the photographs* offered by Sir Conan Doyle is spurious and has been produced by fraudulent means. I am quite content to leave this phase of the matter to Sir Arthur and Dr. Prince, as I am not concerned with it in my address except so far as it indicates to what extent credulity will go, and in using this expression, I am again in accord with Dr. Prince who uses it in the same application.

With reference to the preposterous story about fairy photographs, there may have been some slight misrepresentation in the report which appeared in the newspaper, but it is not essential. Particular reference was to the effect that these so-called fairy photographs were obviously either real photographs which were set up in the grass, or pictures, and the mark of the shears in cutting them out appears definitely. Dr. Prince, who has examined them far more minutely than I have, agrees with this opinion. Of course, without having the actual photographs one cannot form a definite guess as to just how they have been manipulated, but to say that the photographs have met all criticism and the honesty of the young girls has been vindicated, is completely misleading. The photographs have been rejected as ridiculous by almost everyone who has examined them; and, as for the other question, the inference can be left to anyone's imagination.

Let me repeat that all this is quite indifferent to me except that it is quite illustrative as to attitude of mind. There is one point worthy of notice,—the notion that I or anyone else would be interested in attacking anyone or attempting even to persuade anyone who is inclined to take an opposite view. This introduction of any personal attitude is extremely unfortunate; and naturally anyone who appears publicly, will be judged by his public statements. I have no desire to modify in any way the use of such a flagrant example of such extreme credulity as is shown in the writings and public addresses of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.

It may be of interest to him to learn that I was present at one of his New York lectures as a representative of one of the large New York dailies. They had sent a regular representative to report the address and asked me as a special favor to report from the point of view of psychology. When I made my report verbally to the editor, he agreed there was nothing in the address worthy of attention and the reporter's report was all that was required. He added that he did not want to be held accountable for any further opinion of the author, who, in the literary field, commanded his respect, as he does mine.

Very truly yours,

(*Signed*) JOSEPH JASTROW.

CHAPTER XIV

A MAGICIAN AMONG THE SPIRITS*

By Harry Houdini

I

Slate Writing and Other Methods

A remarkably large number of methods have been used at one time and another by the numerous mediums of lesser repute than Slade who prospered on slate writing. Slade himself, like any skilled prestidigitator, had a variety of ways which he used to produce his effects. His usual method was very simple. A common kitchen table with the leaves extended was used, the Doctor being seated at the end and the client on the side against the leaf, at the Doctor's right.

After the slate had been thoroughly washed on both sides he placed it under the leaf at the left of the sitter, holding it in position with the fingers of his right hand, with his thumb above the table. The sitter was requested to hold the left end of the slate with one hand and with the other to grasp the Doctor's left hand near the center of the table. In such a position it was impossible for the sitter to see the slate or the fingers of the medium.

On the forefinger of his right hand Slade had a sort of thimble or ring to which was attached a bit of slate pencil. With this he wrote a short message on the bottom side of the slate, the scratching of the pencil being quite audible to the sitter. When this scratching ceased the Doctor would be seized with a series of nervous spasms during which the slate was snatched from the sitter's hand for the fraction of a second and, unknown to him, turned over, thus bringing the message to the top so that when a few minutes later it was shown the message appeared as though written between the slate and the table leaf.

A second method, which produced longer messages, was the substitution of slates. If this message was of a general character the

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to its tip. By this means a message can be produced at a dark séance in a few minutes without breaking the seals.

There is a form of slate where the slab is invisibly hinged on the side so that it opens like a door and is held shut by a secret catch. This slate can be used in a dark séance or under the table at a light one. It can also be used on a cloth-top table with an invisible trap. The trap and the hinged slate drop down together and the medium is able to write on the slate by reaching under the table.

Still another scheme used with a pair of hinged slates is to have a hole through both frames at one end and locking them with a padlock. In working this the pins are pushed out of the hinges and the frames, moving easily on the shackle of the padlock, permit the medium to write on the inside of the slates without difficulty, afterwards fastening the slates together again by simply replacing the pins in the hinges.

A method of concealing an extra slate is to have it a trifle smaller than the rest and then hidden in some convenient place, say the seat of a chair. A large slate is first examined and laid on the chair. Later it is picked up with the extra one under it. Sometimes the extra one is hidden under the edge of a rug on the floor and worked in the same way. At other times it is hidden on the medium's body and slipped under a large slate when the medium stands with his right side on a line with the sitter's vision.

An entirely different method is employed to some extent by mediums who are very rapid and interesting talkers. Throughout the séance the medium walks nervously about the room, keeping up a continual flow of conversation. He passes two slates to the sitters for examination. A third, the same size, with a previously written message on one side, being concealed in a large pocket inside the breast of his coat. While the slates are being examined he walks about the room sometimes behind and sometimes in front of the sitter, tapping him on the shoulder to emphasize his remarks. As soon as the slates are examined he takes them and, passing behind the sitter, places them on his head and asks him to hold them there and at the same time continuing his walk and talk. Of course when the slates are examined there is a message on the inside of one of them. When the medium steps behind the sitter with the slates in his hand he quickly changes the slate with a message which he has hidden for one of the blank ones. This is no more bold or difficult than many mediumistic tricks but it requires a particularly fluent conversationalist

to successfully produce the needed amount of misdirection when the slates are switched. Women mediums effect a similar exchange sometimes by the aid of a special pocket in the dress.

A very effective method of getting a direct answer to a question on the inside of a sealed double slate is as follows. The slates are thoroughly cleansed by the sitter, who writes a question on a slip of paper, folds it and places it between the slates, with a bit of pencil. The medium keeps at a distance during the writing and cannot see what has been written. The slates are then sealed with strips of paper and placed on the table and the sitter holds both hands of the medium. After a time, as no sound of writing is heard, the medium shows some concern as to the possibility of failure and *suggests* that the sitter hold the slates at the top of his own head. Still there is no sound and the slates are returned to the table, where they remain for some time without any sign of writing. The medium becomes very much worried and suggests that the slates be placed on the sitter's head again, remarking that if no sound is heard he will be obliged to postpone that test till a future sitting. This time the writing is heard almost as soon as the slates touch the head and when it ceases and the slates are unsealed a complete answer is found written on the inner surface of one or both slates.

This seeming marvel is produced in the following simple manner. The medium's assistant steals into the room with a duplicate pair of sealed slates and stands behind the sitter. In the act of placing the slates on the head a switch is made, and the sitter holds the duplicates while the originals are taken into an adjoining room by the assistant. He lifts the seals with a hot table knife and after reading the question he writes an appropriate answer, reseals the slates and returns to his position behind the sitter. Another exchange is made when the slates are placed on the sitter's head the second time. The sound of writing is made by the medium under the table with a piece of slate pencil and a bit of slate, but it is so faint that the sitter cannot locate it.

In Bohemia, Province of Prague, I ran across a medium who was especially good in slate writing. At first I could not "get" his work. When I was playing in Berlin, at the Wintergarten, he came in one night and wanted to give a performance to the directors. I was guest but went prepared for him. His work was so designed that he walked behind us and in so doing he baffled me. I asked for a private sitting and he readily consented.

When he did the slate writing at this sitting I felt someone's pres-

ence, and, sure enough, when he took the slates away there was an almost imperceptible hesitation. In this fraction of a second the slates were switched through a *trap in the panel* behind me. I had a mirror on a rubber elastic fastened to my vest and as I took my seat I pulled the elastic so I could sit on it. I managed to secure this mirror and keep it palmed in my hand, and with it saw the panel slide open, the arm extended with the duplicate slates, and the exchange made.

S. S. Baldwin, an acknowledged expert in Spiritualistic and Telepathic tomfoolery, was bamboozled by a Dr. Fair, according to his own story which he told to me in December, 1920. He received a message on a slate held by himself under a table, and afterwards, at the suggestion of the Doctor, made a thorough examination of the table, the room, and everything in sight, but failed to discover a concealed door in the wainscot of the wall through which a man in black garments could find his way to space under a sofa and thence to the table, which was a rather large one, do the Spirit writing and then make his exit while Mr. Baldwin was fully occupied holding the slate under the table with his eyes fixed on space above it.

One of the very best mediumistic tricks, and one that has made the reputation of more than one well-known medium, is done with a number of small slates and one large one. The size of the slates is immaterial but the large one should be three or four inches larger each way than the others. The manner of presentation differs somewhat with different performers but in general is as follows.

When the sitters arrive the slates are piled near one corner of the table, the larger one at the bottom and eight or nine smaller ones on top of it. The medium stands at the end of the table nearest the slates and after a few casual remarks he picks up the top slate with his left hand, changes it to his right and passes it to the sitter to be examined and cleaned if desired. When he is quite satisfied the medium takes it back, glances at both sides, and then places it on the table directly in front of the sitter. This is repeated with the remaining small slates, which are not stacked up evenly but left in a haphazard pile. While the last small slate is being placed on the pile with the medium's right hand he picks up the large slate with his left and rests it on top of the others, at the same time passing the sitter a pencil and asking him to write a few lines on it requesting the Spirits to favor him with a message and to sign his name to it. He

is at liberty to examine this slate also and to write his message on either side.

The large slate is then placed at the right of the sitter and he is asked to place his right hand on it. The small slates are then evened up by the medium, secured by a heavy rubber band and then placed in the center of the table. The medium then takes a seat at the table opposite the sitter and they clasp hands at the sides of the slates. After a sufficient pause the slates are unbound by the sitter and on a slate near the center of the stack a message is found written in chalk or slate pencil and signed by a departed friend.

The secret of this startling effect is extremely simple. Concealed beneath the big slate at the beginning of the séance is a smaller slate with the message already written on it. This is picked up with the larger one when the latter is placed on the stack for the sitter to write on it and dropped on the others, written side down. The extra slate is never noticed as the pile has not been counted and the business of passing the slate pencil occupies the sitter's attention so that he does not realize that the large slate rests on the small ones before he examines it.

The medium then takes about half the small slates, evens them up and lays them to one side and repeats with the remaining ones, laying them evenly on the others. This is a perfectly natural move as the whole stack makes more than a handful and by means of it the slate with the message is placed in the middle of the stack. The stack is then set on end, the rubber band placed around it, and it is then ready to be placed in the middle of the table for conclusion of the séance.

Two methods of writing between locked or sealed double slates when only one or two words were needed puzzled the investigators for a long time. The first was worked with a strong magnet. The bit of slate pencil which was put between the slates was specially prepared with either powdered soapstone mixed with iron filings, water, and glue, or a small piece of iron was used covered with a paste of soapstone, water, and mucilage. By holding the magnet under the slates and tracing the words *backwards* the prepared pencils would follow the magnet and write the words. The other method was worked with an electro magnet set in the table, the necessary wires running down one leg and making contact with a copper plate in the floor under the rug by means of a sharp metal point on the end of the leg.

Since the introduction of "raps"* by the Fox Sisters various methods have been devised for producing them. One of the simplest expedients is for the medium to slightly moisten the fingers and slide them very gently on the top of the table. A little experimenting soon shows the amount of pressure necessary to product the desired amount of sound and of course the medium is cautious to let the fingers move only the desired distance and that too when no one is looking.

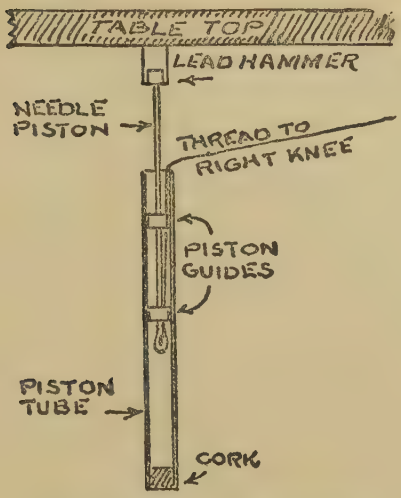
Another simple method is to place the thumbs close together in such a manner that the nail of one overlaps the other a trifle. Then while the thumbs are pressed hard on the table if one nail is slipped up or down distinct raps are produced which seem to come from the top of the table.

Some mediums produce raps by slipping a knee up and down against a table leg. Others have been known to fasten blocks of wood to the knee under the skirt and rap on the table leg with a sidewise motion of the knee. Still others strike the table leg with the heel of the shoe or press the side of the heel against the table leg and by moving the heel up and down the friction of the leather against the wood produces raps.

Many mediums will not depend on these methods but use more complicated ones which produce the raps by means of mechanical devices which they conceal about their person. One of these consists of a small hollow metal tube in which a long, heavy needle is arranged to move up and down like a piston, and attached to it to operate it a stout black thread. The tube is fastened to the inner side of a trouser leg. The free end of the thread is brought out through a seam and an inconspicuous little hook attached. After being seated at the séance table the medium attaches the little hook to the opposite trouser leg and draws on it until the needle point comes through the cloth. He then watches an opportunity to press on to the point of the needle a cork to which has been attached a piece of lead. This accomplished, all he has to do is to place the knee in the proper relation to the table and by moving the other back and forth the piston is made to work up and down, causing the leaded cork to rap out all sorts of messages.

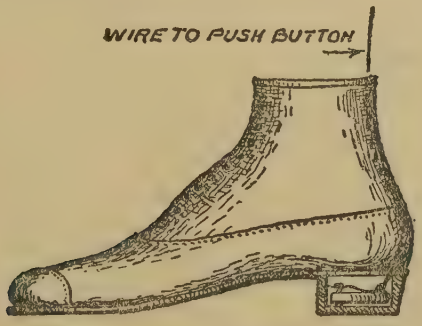
Another ingenious mechanical contrivance is built into the heel of the medium's shoe and operated electrically by running a wire

*In regard to involuntary and subconscious table rapping and tapping: Some people rap and tip tables in all séances of table tipping and rapping. I have attended séances when I have caught some one obligingly cheating to relieve the monotony and the imposition once started is forced to be kept up.



TUBE AND PISTON ARRANGEMENT FOR MAKING RAPS.

from it up through the sole of the shoe and passing it between the back of the shoe and the foot and so on up the leg to batteries concealed in a pocket. By placing this heel against a table leg the raps can be made to sound as though coming from the middle of the table and with a proper amount of "suggestion" the sitters can be made to believe that the mysterious taps are produced in turn under each pair of hands on the table.



RAPPING MECHANISM IN HEEL OF MEDIUM'S SHOE.

Table levitating is easily accomplished in the dark, through the aid of a confederate, by several different methods. If the medium and his assistant are seated opposite, by raising their knees at a signal they

can lift the table from the floor without difficulty. By slightly rocking or tipping the table the medium and assistant can simultaneously slip a foot under table legs diagonally opposite, lift the table and keep it balanced by the pressure of the hands on its top. These and many similar methods are perfectly practical in dark séances but for manifestations where there is any danger of the sitters being able to see mechanical contrivances are resorted to. The oldest form is simply a light, though powerfully strong, length of blue steel riveted to a stout leather wrist strap. When not in use the whole thing is concealed in the medium's sleeve. Sometimes both the medium and the assistant are thus equipped.

This has been somewhat superseded by a chamois-covered flat steel hook concealed under the vest and riveted to a tight-fitting leather belt encircling the medium's body. With this hook under the table edge great power can be exerted upon the table with very little strain upon the operator. The lifting strength of a human hair is not generally known, yet by means of one freshly taken from the head, long enough to span a small light table, the table can be lifted. One of the more modern contrivances is a steel belt which the operator wears and to the front of which is attached a short metal arm which can be engaged under the table top in such a way that the operator can take his hands off the table and still support it in the air. When releasing the table the metal arm is slipped back and the steel belt shifted to another position on the body, the medium's coat concealing both.

Just as advances are made in other lines of work, so too mediums advance in their methods of deceiving their subjects. Few would resort to the old-time methods of releasing a foot from under the foot of an investigator. They have devised a new and baffling method. The medium's shoes are especially made for her in such a way that by a certain pressure on the sole it is possible to withdraw the greater portion of the shoe with the foot from a false front. This front is made of metal and padded. When the medium asks the committee to place their feet on hers she makes sure that they do not overreach the portion she can withdraw from. In the full glare of the light the investigator thinks he feels the medium's foot securely held under his own and as he cannot see under the table the medium has the full use of her foot to produce manifestations.

I once gave a séance while I was touring in England. It was a dark séance and just at the psychological moment a Spirit came through

the window and walked around on the wall and ceiling of the room and then out of another window. The explanation is simple. On the bill with me were two acrobats, hand to hand balancers. One took off his shoes and stockings and the other sneaked up to him. He pulled down the window and then did a hand-to-hand balance with his partner and walked around the room. He then went back to his seat, put on his shoes, and looked as innocent and meek as possible under the circumstances when the lights were turned on. I told every one present that it was only a trick but as usual they insisted that I was a medium.

A rope trick which always causes astonishment and helps to create a belief in supernatural aid is done by a woman medium who enters a cabinet with a rope bound around her neck. The loose ends of the rope are forced through opposite sides of the cabinet and held tightly by two members of the committee. Nevertheless the manifestations take place just the same and when the cabinet is opened afterwards the medium is found bound just as she was before the séance. As a matter of fact when the curtains have been closed and the committee have a grip on the ends of the rope the medium cuts the specially tied loop around her neck. When she is ready to come out she simply ties another loop, using a duplicate piece of rope which she had concealed on her person. When the committee release the ends of the rope she slips the mutilated piece into her bloomers and appears with the duplicate, which looks like the original one.

There are various methods of producing Spirit photographs. One is to have a table prepared so that a developing pan is placed where an X-ray penetrates to the negative. This produces a "Spirit light." Another is to fix the side of the plate with some luminous substance, shape, or flash, and it is astonishing what these things look like. You get forms and frequently recognize faces in the splotches. Father de Heredia has palmed a figure in his hand and as the investigator signed the negative remarked: "I might as well sign it myself." In so doing he rested the left hand over the plate while signing with his right and the phosphorus figure in his hand was photographed on the negative. A simple method is to have something concealed in the hand and hold it over the lens instead of a cap, and still another is to get the camera out of focus and snap it secretly, then when the regular exposure is made there is an additional hazy something on the plate.

One of the most startling swindles I ever heard of a medium working was called "finger-printing a Spirit." In this test the medium

shows the sitter finger prints of the departed soul. I hesitated at first about including this fake, fearing to add to the stock of unscrupulous mediums but I finally concluded that the public should know about it. The scheme was first discovered by a sculptor who dabbled some in Spiritualism. One day, several years ago, a workman fell from the top of the building, in which this man had his studio, and was killed. The body was carried into the studio and while alone with it the sculptor conceived the idea of fooling some guests who were to hold a séance that night. He hurriedly made a plaster of Paris mould of the dead man's fingers and later filled it with a rubber-like substance used in his work. When this had hardened and the plaster had been removed it resembled, even to the most minute detail, the dead hand.

During the séance that night he produced finger prints with it on a trumpet which he had lampblacked and upon investigation it was found that these finger prints corresponded exactly with those of the man in the morgue. No one was able to explain the mystery and he kept the secret for some time but later another medium learned it and obtained a position in an undertaking establishment where he found an opportunity after a while to secure the finger prints of several of the dead who belonged to the wealthy class. In due time he arranged séances with the relatives and convinced them of his genuineness. There are two cases on record where fortunes were at stake because of this sort of fraud. In one case five hundred thousand dollars changed hands upon the recognition of the finger prints of a man who had died two years before. His hand had been maimed in an accident and all the scars showed in the impression on the Spirit slate. Fortunately a confession was wrung from the medium and the money went to the rightful heirs.

A "manifestation" which seems mysterious but which is in reality ridiculously simple is worked as follows. A glass is filled with water and placed on the table in a cabinet. Ribbons or bands of tape are then drawn over it at right angles and the ends fastened to the table with nails. Thus secured the glass cannot be lifted and the top is entirely covered except some small openings. The medium is then locked into the cabinet for a few minutes, during which he keeps up a continuing clapping of his hands, but when the cabinet is unlocked the glass is empty of water and the general impression is that the Spirits drained it. As a matter of fact the medium had worked his hands up near his face and shifted from slapping his hands to slapping his face

with one hand. This left a hand free and with it he had no difficulty in producing a straw from his pocket and sucking the water from the glass.

Of course these examples are only a few of the many means employed by mediums to produce their "manifestations" and take advantage of the credulity of the average sitter, but they are enough to show the reader the sort of methods practiced and the lengths to which they will go in their deceptions.

II

Spirit Photography

With what is perhaps pardonable pride we point to the genius of American enterprise in scientific advancement but it is with decided chagrin that I repeat that, as modern Spiritualism was born in America, so also have been most of the phenomena that under the mask of Spiritualism have unbalanced so many fine intellects the world over. Spirit photography, the most prominent of mediumistic phenomena, had its beginning in Boston, "Hub" of intellectual development, its coming being announced by Dr. Gardner, a devout Spiritualist, who discovered a photographer that "in taking a photograph of himself, obtained on the same plate a likeness of a cousin dead some twelve years before."

This was in 1862, but a little more than a decade after the original demonstration of so-called Spirit power at Hydesville. Fortunately for the success of the new art the photographer selected by the inhabitants of "Summerland"* to use for the demonstration of the new phenomena was a medium and of all the hosts in heaven the spirit chosen to be photographed was (singular coincidence) a cousin of his who had passed the border some years previous.

No sooner had the discovery been announced than spiritual enthusiasts in large numbers began flocking to the studio of the medium, Mr. William H. Mumler, and this kept up until evil spirits (?) began to create an atmosphere of doubt and skepticism, whereupon he abruptly took himself and his new enterprise to New York City, a precipitous plunge presumably prompted by his Spiritual guides.

The change proved to be of great financial benefit to Mumler until the ire of the evil Spirits was once more aroused and he was arrested on a charge of fraudulent transactions. A most interesting and

*Coined by Andrew Jackson Davis, in 1845, and meaning the hereafter. Now used frequently by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.

sensational trial followed with many noted people appearing as witnesses, among them being that prince of showmen, Phineas Taylor Barnum, who testified for the prosecution, and Judge John W. Edmonds, of the Supreme Court Bench, for the defence.

Mr. Barnum testified to having spent much time and study in the detection of humbugs and had recently written a book called "The Humbugs of the World." He knew Mumler only through reputation but had had some correspondence with him in regard to his pictures, wishing to learn his process and expose it in his book, and some pictures which Mumler sent him Barnum paid ten dollars apiece for and put in his museum labelled as "Spiritualistic Humbugs."

Barnum's testimony was attacked by Mumler's lawyer who characterized it as being a "very pretty illustration of humbug" and added that even if it were true Barnum violated the "great precept relating to honor among thieves," but I want to go on record as believing that Mr. Barnum told the truth in the Mumler case.

Judge Edmonds declared on the stand that he had seen Spirits although many Spiritualists could not and recalled an instance when he was on the bench trying a case in which the payment of an accident insurance policy was the issue. He told the court that the whole aspect of the case was changed after he saw the spirit of the suicide and several questions which this Spirit had suggested were put to the witness, the decision being reversed on the testimony thus brought out. He also testified to his belief that Mumler's pictures were genuine photographs of Spirits.

During the trial many methods* of producing Spirit "extras" were shown in court by expert photographers and the possibilities of the effect being produced by natural means proven. The investigators, however, did not have their case in good shape. There were strong grounds for suspicion but they were unable to present positive proof and though the court was morally convinced that fraudulent methods had been practiced sufficient evidence to convict Mumler was lacking.

Although acquitted, it is significant that Mumler refused an offer of five hundred dollars to reproduce his pictures in another studio under test conditions and while free to resume his business so far

*In those days there were no dry plates and with the old "wet" plates it was quite possible to expose a plate, develop it, and then prepare it again and expose it the second time. When this was done both pictures appeared in the print. Such a plate could be used under the strictest test conditions without detection.

as the court was concerned, with a full harvest of dupes waiting to be fleeced, he was nevertheless soon lost to view and seems to have vanished entirely after the publication of his book in 1875.

Spiritualistic mediumship is not immune to the flattery of imitation for even a casual examination of Spiritualistic history and development shows that just as soon as a medium forms a new alliance with the psychic power dispenser and produces phenomena unknown before, other mediums immediately begin to produce it also and the new manifestation soon becomes epidemic. It was so with Spirit photography. No one had thought of such a possibility before Mumler invented the mystery but talented mediums everywhere when they heard of his pictures began to produce them also. Stories of his success crossed the sea and Europe discovered equal talent there.

In the summer of 1874 a Parisian photographer by the name of Buguet went over to London and attracted considerable attention with his Spirit pictures. They were of much higher artistic quality than any preceding ones and Podmore in his "Modern Spiritualism" tells us that:

"The Spirit faces were in most cases clearly defined, and were, in fact, frequently recognized by the sitters, and even W. H. Harrison failed to detect any trickery in the operation."

After a short stay during which his demonstrations completely satisfied such men as Rev. Stainton Moses, who was liberal with his endorsements, Buguet returned to Paris, where the next year he was placed under arrest "charged with the fraudulent manufacture of Spirit photographs." Unlike Mumler, his conscience did not prove court-proof, or perhaps the evidence against him was such that a friendly Spirit advised confession, at any rate he told the court that all of his Spirit photographs were the result of double exposure. On the strength of this confession Buguet was convicted and sentenced to one year of imprisonment and a fine of five hundred francs. A like sentence was given to M. Leymaire, Editor of the *Revue Spirits,* who admitted suggesting to Buguet that he should enter the field of Spirit photography.

The police seized all the paraphernalia in the studio of Buguet and took it to court. Amongst it was a lay figure and a large stock of heads. These with dolls and assistants at the studio took turns as inspirations for Spirit extras. But the real interest of the trial was not these revelations, Podmore tells us, for after all Buguet did little to improve on the methods inaugurated by his predecessors. It is the

effect produced on his dupes by Buguet's confession, and the display of his trick apparatus, which is really worthy of attention. Witness after witness—journalist, photographic expert, musician, merchant, man of letters, optician, ex-professor of history, Colonel of Artillery, etc., etc.—came forward to testify on behalf of the accused. Some had watched the process throughout, and were satisfied that trickery had not been practiced. Many had obtained on the plate unmistakable portraits of those dear to them, and found it impossible to relinquish their faith. One after another these witnesses were confronted with Buguet, and heard him explain how the trick had been done. One after another they left the witness-box, protesting that they could not doubt the evidence of their own eyes. Here, chosen almost at random from many similar accounts, is the testimony of M. Dessenon, picture-seller, aged fifty-five. After describing how he had obtained in the first instance various figures which he could not recognize, he continues:—

" 'The portrait of my wife, which I had especially asked for, is so like her that when I showed it to one of my relatives he exclaimed, "It's my cousin!"

"*The Court*: 'Was that chance, Buguet?'

"*Buguet*: 'Yes, pure chance. I had no photograph of Mme. Dessenon.'

"*The Witness*: 'My children, like myself, thought the likeness perfect. When I showed them the picture they cried, "It's mama." A very fortunate chance!... I am convinced it was my wife.'

"*The Court*: 'You see this doll and all the rest of the things?'

"*The Witness*: 'There is nothing there in the least like the photograph which I obtained.' "

Incidentally there were two or three curious bits of evidence on the value of recognition as a test. *A police officer stated that Buguet showed him a portrait which had done duty as the sister of one sitter, the mother of a second, and the friend of a third.* Again, it came out in the evidence that a very clearly defined head (reproduced as an illustration to Stainton Moses' articles in *Human Nature*) which had been claimed by M. Leymaire as the portrait of his almost life long friend, M. Poiret, was recognized by another witness as an excellent likeness of his father-in-law, still living at Breux, and much annoyed at his premature introduction to the Spirit world.

From Mumler's first pictures to the present day, Spirit photography has played a large part in the field of Spiritualistic devotion, and in-

numerable mediums have discovered that they possessed the same phenomenal power for producing the coveted likeness in the form of "extras" on the sensitized plate. The art has now advanced to such a stage that it is no longer necessary for one to sit but all that is needed is a relic of the departed one, something which either belonged or was of especial interest, to the person. This relic is photographed and when the plate is developed there appears beside it as an "extra" the face of the departed; that is, I should say, if your imagination is strong enough to see a resemblance to the person supposed to be represented.

Nor is a camera necessary in these days, according to Spiritualists. In fact, I am told that it is not necessary to even open a box of plates, but that they can be "magnetized" just as they come from the maker *provided* the box is in the possession of the medium a few days in advance of the sitting. This single condition fulfilled and the demonstration will follow if the sitters, including the nearest relative, pile their hands on top of the medium's. Then to create a solemn atmosphere the sitters are usually asked to join in some form of religious devotion such as singing "Nearer, My God, to Thee," or a fervent prayer.

This is the type of performance conducted by what is known as the "Crewe Photographers" and supported and defended by the present day leaders in Spiritualism. This Crewe combination of photographers is under the management of professional Spiritualists and is an organized effort to promulgate this particular phase of Spiritualistic phenomena. The group consists of Mr. William Hope and Mrs. Buxton, Crewe; Mrs. Deane of London; and Mr. Vearncombe of Bridgewater.

My friend, Harry Price, attended a sitting given by Hope and tells of the religious exercises as follows:

"Mrs. Buxton sang several verses of 'Nearer, My God, to Thee,' after which Mr. Hope made a long impromptu prayer in which he thanked God for all our many mercies, and hoped He would continue His blessings at the present moment. He also craved blessings on our fellow creatures and friends on the other side and asked assistance in the attempt to link up with them, etc. Then Mrs. Buxton sang another hymn, after which Mr. Hope picked up the package of dry plates, put them between the hands of Mrs. Buxton, placed her hands on his, and others in the party piled their hands on top. Then we had

another impromptu prayer by Mrs. Buxton. Then the Lord's Prayer was sung, and a short hymn concluded the service."

Can one imagine a sacrilege more revolting than singing hymns, saying prayers, and calling on the Almighty for help in such fraudulent work?

The combination evaded detection and were doing a most successful business when in the spring of 1921, Mr. Edward Bush, of the Society of Psychical Research, laid a snare into which Hope walked with his eyes wide open. Mr. Bush wrote for an appointment under the assumed name of "D. Wood," enclosing a photograph of a son-in-law who was alive. On the back of the photograph was written:

"Tell Dad, if anything happens to me, I will try and let him have a Spirit Photo. Tell him to shout up to let me know where he goes to.

"JACK ACKROYD."

Hope arranged a time for a sitting but returned the photo, saying he regretted that it had been sent as it subjected him to suspicion. When the time for the sitting arrived Hope went under control and Mr. Bush manipulated the plates as he directed but no "extras" appeared. On the next day, however, when the plate was developed after another sitting, there was an "extra" which proved to be a likeness of the son-in-law. Mr. Bush published the details of this exposure in a pamphlet and the London *Truth* said editorially:

"But not only have William Hope and his sister medium, Mrs. Buxton, cause to kick themselves at Mr. Bush's exposure, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle,* Lady Glenconner, the Rev. Walter Wynn, and many other leading lights of the movement have brought these products of faith and hope forward as conclusive proof of the continuation of existence and the possibility of communication with the next world."

Later in the same year, Mr. C. R. Mitchell, a former leader of the Hackney Spiritualistic Society and well known in mediumistic circles in London, was selected to "undertake certain tests of a scien-

*In speaking of Spirit photography, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle usually brings up as proof positive, that his fairy photographs are genuine. According to the *London Star,* December 20, 1921, there were many interesting developments regarding these:

"Messrs. Price and Sons, the well known firm of candle makers, inform us that the fairies in this photograph are an exact reproduction of a famous poster they have used for years, to advertise their night lights.

" 'I admit on these fairies there are wings, whereas our fairies have no wings,' said a representative of the firm to a *Star* reporter, 'but, with this exception, the figures correspond line for line with our own drawing.' "

tific nature for the purpose of ascertaining the value of these Spirit phenomena." Mr. Mitchell was a photographer and wished to use his own plates in the experiment but Mrs. Deane, who was to conduct it, refused to let him unless he *first left them with her for a few days to be magnetized.* He objected to this and it was finally agreed that he could use his own plates provided he would magnetize them himself but the results were unsatisfactory. He then purchased from Mrs. Deane a package of fresh plates, which, it was claimed, had not been opened since it left the manufacturer. The likeness of a soldier appeared on one of these which Mr. Mitchell developed himself and he concluded that not only had the plates been "magnetized" but that they had been exposed in a camera as well.

The issue of *Truth* for June 28th, 1922, gives an account of the experience of an ex-Indian missionary, who, with three others, visited the Crewe photographers and sat for Spirit pictures. Four exposures were made and Spirit "extras" appeared on two of the plates but the men could not remember whether the plates had at any time been beyond their control so the missionary arranged for another sitting taking the precaution to have his plates marked on the corner with a glazier's diamond. At this second sitting one Spirit extra was produced but there was *no diamond mark* on the plate, positive proof that an exchange had been effected.

During 1922 the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle took up the investigation of Spirit photography first giving its attention to Mr. Vearncombe who produced Spirit extras in connection with some object once in possession of the deceased. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle put this committee in touch with the Honorary Secretary of the Society for the Study of Supernormal Pictures, Mr. Barlow, and at the latter's suggestion sent him an unopened package of plates for Mr. Vearncombe. Although Barlow objected, "for Vearncombe's satisfaction, though not essential," the package was enclosed in a lead case. Also at Barlow's suggestion a fee accompanied the package. After a month of waiting the committee received a photograph of the package and on the photograph was a spirit message which read: "Barred your side."

In order to remove the barrier a fresh package of plates was forwarded to Vearncombe, this time in an ordinary wrapper. Some months later, after the plates had been Spiritually treated by Vearncombe, they were returned to the committee. When developed "psychic extras" were found on two plates. There was evidence that the

package had been tampered with and the same spirit had been seen on other photographs.

The committee sent Vearncombe a package of plates under an assumed name but received word from him that it was not necessary to send plates. That small objects which had belonged to the deceased would do and that if the proper fee were enclosed photographic prints showing the "psychic extras" obtained would be supplied. As a full compliance with this suggestion would have been useless as a test, a box of plates, a small object supposed to have belonged to the deceased, and the fee were sent.

Again Vearncombe protested that he did not treat unopened boxes of plates owing to many failures but offered to expose plates on the object which had been supplied. He was informed that such exposure would be unsatisfactory whereupon rather than disappoint his correspondent, he consented and forwarded the package with the statement that he had treated the plates as desired and hoped for success. On development a "psychic image" appeared on one of the plates but the committee found that the wrappers of the package had been unsealed and the plates disturbed in their arrangement.

In order to clinch the results of their trapping Vearncombe was informed that the experiment had been a "success" but in order to "avoid criticism" he was asked for an assurance that the package had not been tampered with. It soon came in the form of a written statement that the package had been treated by him and returned to the sender as originally sealed when he received it.

The committee had arranged fourteen tests, twelve of which had been violated, and as two or three violations would have been sufficient evidence of fraud it did not consider more necessary but reported that it had been established by the evidence that fraud-proof packages produced no results whereas it found "Spirit extras" in packages which had been tampered with and that "collectively the result is damning."

The committee next directed its attention to Mrs. Deane who, because of "complications from annoying sitters," had given up private practice at her residence and was working under engagement with the British College of Psychic Science. The Principal of the College, Mr. McKenzie, had vouched for her as being absolutely conscientious and straightforward in her work and one fully qualified to produce "psychic extras without resort to trickery." Mr. Harry Price and Mr. Seymour negotiated for a private sitting with her. She required that sealed plates should be sent several days in advance for "mag-

netization." Six plates were exposed at the sitting and on most of them "extras" appeared, but evidence was obtained that the package had been opened previous to the sitting and the plates *treated* but there had been no substitution of plates.

An effort was made to get more convincing evidence and after considerable difficulty a second sitting was arranged for. This time the committee went to a manufacturer, whose plates had been mentioned by the college people as being preferable, and had a special package made up and sealed. In this package each plate was so marked that substitution or manipulation were sure to be revealed. It was simply fraud-proof.

At the sitting the regular prayer and hymn singing were conducted as usual after which the plates were exposed and developed. It was found that the package had been opened previously, the top plate removed and another substituted for it and on this substituted plate, only, there was a "Spirit extra." At a third sitting a fresh box of secretly marked plates was opened in the presence of Mrs. Deane. Four plates were loaded into as many separate slides and Mrs. Deane carried them into the adjoining studio. On a table in the studio was a hand-bag and beside it a hymn book. The hand in which she held the four slides momentarily disappeared inside the bag while at the same time she picked up the hymn book with her other hand. With the hymn book she had picked up a duplicate slide which, with a perfectly natural movement, she added to the three in her other hand one of the four marked plates having been dropped in the bag where it was found later by one of the investigators who examined the bag while Mrs. Deane was absent for a moment.

Following the customary religious service the four plates were exposed and then developed. Three plates which had the identifying marks had no Spirit extra, but the fourth plate which had no identification mark did have a Spirit form.

As a result of this investigation the committee found that whenever there was an opportunity packages were opened and treated, plates substituted, and in the tests which followed "Spirit extras" were secured, but when the conditions were absolutely fraud-proof there were no "extras," and so far as it was able to discover all the so-called Spirit photography rested on the flimsy foundation of fraud.

In December 1921 I tried to visit Mr. Hope and have some Spirit photographs made but I was informed that his engagements would keep him busy for months and that I would have to wait my turn.

I then got in touch with a friend of mine by the name of DeVega* who lives in Glasgow and asked him if he would not see Hope and arrange to sit for a photograph. After considerable correspondence between DeVega and Hope the latter agreed to make the photographs provided DeVega would go to Crewe. DeVega assented to this, and an appointment was made and the sitting took place. The following account of DeVega's experience is taken from a full report which he sent me.

"Dec. 16, 1921.—Arrived at No. 144 Market Street, the door was opened by an elderly lady. I asked if Mr. Hope was in and presently he came down. I told him that a well known member of the Spiritualist Society and a man known to be a collector of Spirit photographs sent me and that seemed to be sufficient for Mr. Hope.

"I had brought my own camera along and asked him whether the pictures could be taken with it. However, he said he used his own camera but would let me investigate it all I wanted to. He told me he could not possibly photograph me that forenoon as there was another gentleman coming but arranged for two o'clock.

"I watched Market Street, from a distance, all the forenoon but saw no one go in. I arrived there promptly but it was 2:30 before Mr. Hope arrived. A Mrs. Buxton joined us. She, Hope and myself sat around a small table. They sang hymns, said a prayer and asked the table if all was favorable.

"At his request I placed my packages of plates on the table. They placed their hands above them and sang again. Hope suddenly gave a quiver and said, 'Now we will try.' He showed me the dark room, which is a small arrangement of about six feet high, three feet wide and five feet long. There were two shelves and on these were dusters, cloths, bottles of chemicals, a lamp, etc. The lamp is an old affair lit by a candle. The room is so very small that when two people are in it there is no room to move about.

"He next showed me the camera and asked me to examine it. I gave a glance at it and told him I did not doubt his word, which seemed to please him a great deal. I thought if it was a fake he would not allow me to examine it as closely as he asked me to. It

*I would like to say for the benefit of the reader that DeVega is a skilled magical entertainer; has invented a number of legerdemain feats; contributed a number of interesting articles to magical publications; is a skilled artist and a clever photographer. I was very fortunate in being able to secure a man of his ability for the investigation.

was an old make, one fourth plate, studio camera and had no shutter, but worked with a cap over a lens (the cap was missing). He next showed me the dark slide. It was an old-fashioned, double wood end slide. I examined it very closely but it was unprepared.

"The studio itself is a little glass hot-house arrangement built on to the side of the house. A green curtain is hung at the one end at which the sitter sits.

"We went again into the dark room to load the plates. He gave me his slide and told me to leave two of my own dark slides down in front of the light as he would try my camera too. I opened my plates and placed two in his dark slide and closed it. It was placed on the under shelf where I could see it faintly. He then asked me to open my own two slides slightly and sign my name on them. (I signed J. B. Gilchrist.) As I signed them he moved the lamp to let me see better. This threw the one fourth plate in the shadow. After that he handed me the one fourth plate slide to sign the two plates in the same way.

"*I am sure, although I did not actually see him, that the slide I loaded, was changed for another one.* It was too dark to see under the level of the shelf. I, for a moment, considered letting my pencil slip and spoil the plate and load in another from my pocket but I thought it advisable to let things go on as I would then see just what his usual procedure was. I wondered at the time *Why I could not have been told to take the plates from the package, sign them and then place the plates in the slide and place the slide in my pocket until they were to be exposed. Why was it necessary to sign my own plates in my dark slide at all? In fact, there was no necessity for me to take my slide in the dark room.*

"We went back into the studio, again I was asked to examine the camera. However, I took up my position in front of the camera. Mrs. Buxton stood at one side and Mr. Hope at the other. The dark focusing cloth was low over the lens (the cap being missing) and the slide open. Mrs. Buxton and Hope sang a hymn and each took an end of the cloth, uncovering the lens. This was repeated with other plates as well.

"Now my camera was set up. I was asked to open the slide and show them how the shutter worked. The exposure was made. He placed his hand in front of the camera, covering the lens and asked me to open the slide myself as he did not want to touch it. *Now why did he close the lens in that way?* It would have been simpler to

have pushed down the open front of the slide, closing it, but I believe that on his hand was a spot of some radiant salt or some such substance that would cause a bright spot to appear on the negative, such as appeared on that plate when it was developed. Holding his hand in front of the lens while an exposure was being made is such an unnatural action that I believe that was the cause of what he called 'a Spirit Light,' when it was developed. The next photograph I told him to press the release again to close the shutter. He did so.

"We then adjourned into the dark room to develop the plates. The two, one fourth plates were placed by me, side by side, in a dish and the two three and a half by two and a half in another dish and developed. By pouring the developer from one dish to another, one of the one quarter plates flashed up dark. I remarked that one was coming up very quickly and he replied that 'when they come up like that it is a good sign for it is very likely there is an "extra" on them. I said no more but in my experience and knowledge of photography, such an occurrence is impossible unless the plates have been previously exposed.

"The two plates were taken from the same packet, loaded into the dark slide at the same time, with the same dark room light and the same distance from the light. They were then exposed on the same subject immediately after each other; the same length of exposure being given (I counted them mentally) with the same aperture of lens. The plates were then placed side by side in the same dish of developer and I contend that the image must come up at a uniform speed on both plates and that it is impossible for one to flash up before the other and darken all over unless it was previously exposed, especially when there was no variation in the light when the exposure was made, it being three P. M., December 16, clear sky, no sunshine.

"An 'extra' did appear on this (one fourth plate). It is a clean shaven face above mine and drapery hanging from it. On my own three and a half by two and a half a light splotch is over my face. Mrs. Buxton informed me that it was a 'Spirit light' but Mr. Hope believed he saw the faint features of a face in it."

While in Denver, Colorado, in May, 1923, I called one morning on Mr. Alexander Martin, whom Sir Arthur Conan Doyle had told me was a noted psychic photographer and a very wonderful man in his particular line. Doyle himself had called on Martin the day before but as Martin did not feel in the mood there had been no demonstration. In this Sir Arthur was no more unfortunate than Hyslop,

the eminent Psychic investigator, who, according to Sir Arthur, had made a special journey from England to Denver in order to have a séance with Martin but had not been successful.

Martin lived about fifteen minutes out of town by taxi. I took with me my chief assistant, James Collins, so I would have a witness if anything of a psychic nature occurred. Collins had my camera as I wanted at least to get a picture of Martin. We found him standing in the doorway of a rear building and after I introduced myself he seemed cordial. I showed him some Spirit photographs which I had with me and after a few minutes talk I asked him if he was willing that Collins should take a snap-shot at us. He thought I was asking for a sitting and replied that he did not feel good and besides had been engaged to take the pictures of the children in two schools. I kept on talking in my most entertaining manner and before long he invited us into the house saying he would photograph both of us. Meanwhile Collins had secured five snap-shots at close range without Martin knowing it.

When we went into the house I walked right into the dark room but Martin called me saying:

"Now don't you go in there, just wait a minute."

While we waited outside Martin spent about eight minutes in the dark room. Then he came out and we went into his studio, a simple room with a black background. He had me sit down and placed Collins behind me on my right. As a test I told Collins to step over to the other side as it might look better. Then when he had done so I turned to Martin and asked:

"Is that all right or is it better to have him take the original position?"

"I think it would be nicer if he stood where he was in the first place," Martin replied.

This led me to think he was keeping that side of the plate clean for something to appear. There was considerable light in the room and Martin pulled a dark screen on our right explaining that he did not need much light for the psychic stuff, then putting a shade on his eyes he turned to us and said:

"Now keep quiet and I will try and do something."

When he uncovered the lens I counted the time of the exposure which was about fifteen seconds. As he covered it again he said to us:

"That is all I can do to-day. Now I must hurry away."

We thanked him and as we were going out I asked him if he had

any photographs we could see. He went into an adjoining room but closed the door so we had no opportunity to look in. When he came out he had four photographs which he allowed me to keep but he would not write on them who they were of.

The next day I went to see him again and he gave me another séance. This time he said he would have to cut a plate and he gave me a book to read while I waited. In looking for a piece of paper on which to write my address he picked up a lot of newspapers and I noticed some scientific publications systematically inserted between the leaves which led me to think he was trying to hide his knowledge and wished to appear as a simple minded old man who knew but little about photography.

I have not the slightest doubt that Mr. Martin's Spirit photographs were simply double exposures. I think his method was to cut out various pictures, place them on a background and make an exposure. His plates were then ready for his next sitter, who in the above instance was myself. Being an expert photographer he might have used the original wet plate method of making an exposure, developing it, washing the emulsion off the plate and refinishing it with a new emulsion but I am convinced that the two Spirit photos which he made of me were simply double exposures.

The technique of photography does not trouble the psychic operator. He has no regard for the laws of light or chemistry. The fact that in all of his pictures the Spirits appear to be perfectly conscious of posing does not disconcert him, nor is he disturbed because they always appear as they were in life. How much more interesting it would be and how much more such photographs would add to our knowledge and aid the advancement of science if once in a while the Spirits would permit themselves to be snapped while engaged in some Spiritual occupation.

From a logical, rational point of view, Spirit photography is a most barefaced imposition and stands as evidence of the credulity of those who are in sympathy with the superstitions of occultism. It is also evidence of how unscrupulous mediums become and how calloused their consciences.

In this country there is no such organized group of Spirit photographers as the Crewe photographers in England. Since Mumler's narrow escape from deserved punishment and his disappearance there have been few who had the courage to operate as boldly as he did. The most conspicuous one practicing at the present time is Dr. (?)

Photograph of Houdini showing so-called "Spirit Extras" of President and Mrs. Harding. Presented to Professor Carl Murchison by Mr Houdini before the latter's death.

W. M. Keeler, who according to Spiritualistic publications has a nerve and conscience equal to any psychic undertaking.

With Spirit photography as with all other so-called psychic marvels, there never has been, nor is now, any proof of genuineness beyond the claim made by the medium. In each and every case it is a simple question of veracity, and when the most sincere believers in Spiritualism unhesitatingly admit, as they do, that all mediums at times resort to fraud and lying, what dependence can possibly be placed in any statement they make?

There can be no better evidence of rottenness in the whole structure that the fact that for upwards of forty years there have been standing offers of money in amounts ranging from five hundred to five thousand dollars for a single case of so-called phenomena which could be proven actually psychic. Knowing the character of mediums as I do I claim if proof were possible there is not a single medium, including Spirit photographers, who would not have jumped at the chance to win such a prize. If there are any who are operating honestly let them come forward with proof and take the reward.

III

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

Spiritualism has claimed among its followers numbers of brilliant minds—scientists, philosophers, professionals and authors. Whether these great minds have been misdirected, whether they have followed the subject because they were convinced fully of its truth, or whether they have been successfully hoodwinked by some fraudulent medium, are matters of conjecture and opinion; nevertheless they have been the means of bringing into the ranks of Spiritualism numbers of those who allow themselves to be led by minds greater and more powerful than their own.

Such a one is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. His name comes automatically to the mind of the average human being to-day at the mention of Spiritualism. No statistician could fathom the influence he has exerted through his lectures and his writings or number the endless chain he guides into a belief in communication with the Realm Beyond. His faith and belief and confidence in the movement have been one of the greatest assets of present-day believers and whatever one's views on the subject, it is impossible not to respect the belief of this great author who has wholeheartedly and unflinchingly thrown

his life and soul into the conversion of unbelievers. Sir Arthur *believes.* In his great mind there is *no* doubt.

He is a brilliant man, a deep thinker, well versed in every respect, and comes of a gifted family. His grandfather, John Doyle, was born in Dublin in 1797. He won popularity and fame in London with his caricatures of prominent people. Many of his original drawings are now preserved in the museum under the title "H. B. Caricatures." He died in 1868. An uncle of Sir Arthur's was the famous "Dicky Doyle," the well-known cartoonist of *Punch* and designer of the familiar cover of that magazine. In his later years he became prominent as an illustrator, making drawings for *The Newcomes* in 1853, and becoming especially successful in illustrating such fairy stories as Hunt's "Jar of Honey," Ruskin's "King of the Golden River," and Montelbas' "Fairy Tales of all Nations." The fact that he leaned toward Spiritualism is not generally known. Sir Arthur's father, Charles A. Doyle, was also an artist of great talent though not in a commercial way. His home life is beautiful and Lady Doyle has told me on numerous occasions that he never loses his temper and that his nature is at all times sunshiny and sweet. His children are one hundred per cent children in every way and it is beautiful to note the affection between the father, mother and the children. He is a great reader who absorbs what he reads but he believes what he sees in print *only* if it is favorable to Spiritualism.

The friendship of Sir Arthur and myself dates back to the time when I was playing the Brighton Hippodrome, Brighton, England. We had been corresponding and had discussed through the medium of the mail, questions regarding Spiritualism. He invited Mrs. Houdini and myself to the Doyle home in Crowborough, England, and in that way an acquaintanceship was begun which has continued ever since. Honest friendship is one of life's most precious treasures and I pride myself in thinking that we have held that treasure sacred in every respect. During all these years we have exchanged clippings which we thought might be of mutual interest and on a number of occasions have had an opportunity to discuss them in person. Our degree of friendship may be judged best from the following letter of Sir Arthur's.

"15 Buckingham Palace Mansion,
S. W. 1,
"March 8, 1923.

"My Dear Houdini:—

For goodness' sake take care of those dangerous stunts of yours.

You have done enough of them. I speak because I have just read of the death of the "Human Fly."* It is worth it?

"Yours very sincerely,

(*Signed*) A. CONAN DOYLE."

It would be difficult to determine just when Sir Arthur and I first discussed Spiritualism, but from that talk to the present we have never agreed upon it. Our viewpoints differ; we do not believe the same thing. I know that he treats Spiritualism as a religion. He believes that it is possible and than he can communicate with the dead. According to his marvellous analytical brain he has had proof positive of this. There is no doubt that Sir Arthur is sincere in his belief and it is this sincerity which has been one of the fundamentals of our friendship. I have respected everything he has said and *I have always been unbiased,* because at no time have I refused to follow the subject with an open mind. I cannot say the same for him for he has refused to discuss the matter in any other voice except that of Spiritualism and in all our talks quoted only those who favored it in every way, and if one does not follow him sheep-like during his investigations then he is blotted out forever so far as Sir Arthur is concerned. Unfortunately he uses the reasoning, so common among Spiritualists, that no matter how often mediums are caught cheating he believes the only reason for it is that they have overstepped their bounds and resorted to trickery in an effort to convince. I wonder if some day Sir Arthur will forget that he is a Spiritualist and argue a case of trickery with the sound logic of an outsider. I firmly believe that if he ever does he will see and acknowledge some of his errors. I am ready to believe in Sir Arthur's teachings if he can convince me beyond the shadow of a doubt that his demonstrations are genuine.

There is no doubt in my mind, Sir Arthur believes implicitly in the mediums with whom he has convened and he knows positively, in his own mind, they are all genuine. Even if they are caught cheating he always has some sort of an alibi which excuses the medium and

*On March 5, 1923, Harry F. Young, known as "The Human Fly," fell ten stories from a window ledge of the Hotel Martinique, New York City. He succumbed before he reached the hospital.

For the benefit of those who do not know, "A Human Fly" is an acrobat who makes a specialty of scaling tall buildings, simply clinging to the apertures or crevices of the outward architecture of such building for the edification of an assembled throng, for which he receives a plate collection, a salary or is engaged especially for publicity purposes. It is not a very lucrative profession and its dangers are many.

the deed. He insists that the Fox Sisters were genuine, even though both Margaret and Katie confessed to fraud and explained how and why they became mediums and the methods used by them to produce the raps.

"Like Cæsar's wife—always above suspicion," Hope and Mrs. Deane pass in his category as genuine mediums. He has often told me that Palladino* and Home some day would be canonized for the great work they did in the interest of Spiritualism, even though they were both exposed time and time again. In all gravity he would say to me, "Look what they did to Joan of Arc." To Sir Arthur it is a matter of most sacred moment. It is his religion, and he would invariably tell me what a cool observer he was and how hard it would be to fool him, or in any way deceive him.** He told me that he did not believe any of "the nice old lady mediums" would do anything wrong and it was just as unlikely for some old gentleman, innocent as a child unborn, to resort to trickery. But there comes to my mind the notorious Mrs. Catherine Nicol and her two daughters who were continuously getting in and out of the law's net, usually breaking the heads of a few detectives in the process. Among the "nice old lady" mediums might be mentioned a prominent medium of Boston who was accused of taking unlawfully from one of her believers over eight thousand dollars in cash.

Another case was that of a medium who received $1,000 from a man in Baltimore for the privilege of a few minutes' chat with the Spirit of his dead wife. He later sued her for fraud. Later she was exposed while giving a séance in Paris, but after a few years she appeared in New York City.

At this time Asst. District Attorney Krotel asked that she be brought into court to answer to a charge of selling California mining

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*On April 14, 1922, in New York City, Sir Arthur, according to his book, "Our American Adventure," attended a séance given by a young Italian by the name of Pecoraro. During the séance the name Palladino was given and he was told that the famous medium was present. A voice from the cabinet, supposedly Palladino's, said, "I, who used to call back the Spirits, now come back as a Spirit myself," to which Sir Arthur answered, "Palladino, we send you our love and our best encouragement." However, the force was broken by "the absurd and vile dancing of the table," and there was no physical manifestation. This shows Sir Arthur's will to excuse even Palladino, who was on numerous occasions exposed as a fraudulent medium.

**_ALL_ Spiritualists say that.

stock to her followers through the advice of certain disembodied Spirits. The stock was found to be worthless.

There was also a woman, who was arrested and convicted for vagrancy in Seattle and numerous other cases, such as that of Katie King of Philadelphia in 1875; however, no matter how many cases I cited, it did not seem to make any impression on Sir Arthur.

I had known for some time that a number of people wanted to draw Doyle into a controversy. When I saw Sir Arthur I told him to be careful of his statements and explained a number of pitfalls he could avoid. Nevertheless, despite my warnings, he would say: "That's all right, Houdini, don't worry about me, I am well able to take care of myself. They cannot fool me." To which I would reply he had no idea of the subtleness of some of the people who were trying to draw his fire.

When I called Sir Arthur's attention to the number of people who have gone crazy on the subject because of persistent reading, continuous attendance at séances and trying automatic writing, his answer would be: "People have been going mad* for years, and you will find on investigation that many go mad on other subjects besides Spiritualism." On being reminded that most of these people hear voices and see visions, he denied that they were hallucinations, and insisted that he had spoken to different memebrs of his family.†

I recall several flagrant instances in which Sir. Arthur's faith has, I think, misguided him. One particular time was when he attended a public séance by a lady known as "The Medium in the Mask." Among those present at the time were Lady Glenconner, Sir Henry Lunn and Mr. Sidney A. Mosley, a special representative of a newspaper.

According to reports, the medium wore a veil like a "yashmak." She appeared very nervous. A number of articles, including a ring that

*Dr. A. T. Schofield wrote in the *Daily Sketch,* February 9, 1920, that thousands of persons were estimated by a famous mental specialist to have been driven to the asylum through Spiritualism. A truly pitiful record.

†Letter from Sir Arthur to H. H. (dated April 2, 1920): "I have had very conclusive evidence since my two books were written. Six times I have spoken face to face with my son, twice with my brother and once with my nephew, all beyond doubt in their own voices and on private matters, so for me there is not, nor has been for a long time, any doubt. I *know* it is true, but we can't communicate that certainty to others. It will come—or not, according to how far we work for it. It is the old axiom, 'Seek and ye shall find.' "

had belonged to Sir Arthur's deceased son, were put in a box, and the medium correctly gave the initials on the ring, although Sir Arthur said that they could hardly be discerned, even in a good light, they were so worn off.*

Later in describing another article, the medium said the words, "Murphy" and "button" and it was afterwards explained that "Murphy's button" was a surgical operation term. She said that the person described would die as a result of the operation. Unfortunately, for the medium, no one present knew of such a case and yet, *Sir Arthur described this séance as very clever.*†

The "Masked Lady" was sponsored by a theatrical agent and illusionist and all proceedings of the séances were brought to light in a suit against Mr. George Grossman and Mr. Edward Laurillard, theatrical producers, to recover damages for breach of agreement to place a West End theatre at his disposal.

Accounts of mediums by the name of "Thompson" have misled several people. There is a Thompson of New York and a Thomson of Chicago. Sir Arthur had a séance with Thompson of New York and according to all the news clippings I have had they claimed to have brought back his mother. In fact it was stated that he asked permission to kiss his mother's hand.

The Thomsons got into trouble in Chicago and New Orleans also.** As a matter of fact I was in Chicago when their trial took place. I had been present at two of their séances. The first was in New York at the Morosco Theatre and I had all I could do to keep

*Report of trial before Mr. Justice Darling—*Morning Post,* July 16, 1920.

†I have it on the positive word of Stuart Cumberland, who was at one of the séances of the "Masked Medium" and he gave me definite specifications and positive facts of the reading of the initials in the ring submitted by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle to the "Masked Medium" whom he said possessed remarkable powers. Stuart Cumberland told me a number of ways this feat could be done. Among them, the black boxes were exchanged surreptitiously in the dark, and then brought back. It is an easy thing to present a box for inspection and yet have false compartments in it so that the contents will fall out. It was only after the methods were told innumerable times to Sir Arthur that he condemned it as a fraud.

**According to the *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* March 9, 1923 Clarence Thomson, self-styled missionary, President and member of the Board of Directors of the International Psychical Association, was fined $25 and sentenced to serve 30 days in jail. He admitted he had been arrested in Chicago and Kansas City for conducting séances, but said he had been honorably discharged.

J. F. Rinns from breaking up the performance. The second was in Chicago. It was a special séance given after my performance at the Palace Theatre. I was accompanied by H. H. Windsor, Publisher and Editor of *Popular Mechanics;* Oliver R. Barrett, a prominent member of the bar; Mr. Husband Manning, author; and Leonard Hicks, a well-known hotel proprietor. Among others present at the séance were Cyrus McCormick, Jr., Muriel McCormick, and Mrs. McCormick McClintock. We witnessed a number of unsatisfactory phenomena and afterwards adjourned to the home of Cyrus McCormick and discussed the séance, being unanimously of the opinion that it was a glaring fraud just as I had believed the one in New York to be.

At the Morosco Theatre, New York City, the Thomsons made the broad statement that they had been tested by Stead and Sir Oliver Lodge and at a special séance he had come out and publicly endorsed Mrs. Thomson as being genuine. The following letter not only disproves this but explains the feeling of an active Spiritualist toward the Thomsons.

"NORMANTON,
"LAKE,
"SALISBURY.
"7th January, 1921.

"DEAR MR. HOUDINI:—

"It is a pleasure to hear from you, and I thank you for asking the question about the Thomsons. I have replied to one or two other queries of the same kind, but I would be grateful if you would make it known that any statement that I have vouched for their genuineness, is absolutely false.

"I only saw them once, at a time when they called themselves Tomson. It was at Mr. Stead's house, at his urgent request. I considered the performance fraudulent, but the proof was not absolutely complete because the concluding search was not allowed, and the gathering dispersed in disorder, or at least with some heat.

"I felt sorry at this termination, and it is just possible that Thomson genuinely thought I was favourably impressed. That is the charitable view to take, but it is not the true view, and Mr. Stead was annoyed with me because of my skeptical attitude. (He has since admitted to me, from the other side, that he was wrong and I was right; bringing the subject up spontaneously. This latter statement, however, is not evidence.)

"What I should like the public to be assured of, is that I was *not* favourably impressed, and never vouched for them in any way.

"I am afraid I must assume that Thomson is aware of that, and

therefore is not acting in good faith, because once in England the same sort of statement was made, either at Leicester or at Nottingham I think, and I wrote to a paper to contradict it.

"With all good wishes believe me, "Faithfully yours,
(*Signed*) "OLIVER LODGE."

Sir Arthur personally told me that he was convinced of the genuineness of the Welsh miners of Cardiff, or Thomas Brothers. Stuart Cumberland who was infinitely my superior in investigation (he had a start of 20 years) told me that there wasn't a chance of the Thomas Brothers being genuine, and related how, owing to the great interest of Sir Arthur in them, the *London Daily Express* eventually induced them to hold a séance before a committee of investigators. Cumberland was to have been one of the committee, but the mediums refused to allow him to be "Among those present." As they refused to proceed if Cumberland was admitted, it was thought advisable to eliminate him. Before leaving, Cumberland arranged the musical instruments that were used and instructed the investigating committee how to detect fraud. The feature of the séance was the passing along in the circle, of a button and a pair of suspenders, which were thrown on the knees of a news Editor present. I ask the common-sense reader what benefit this would be—to project a button clear across the room and to find a pair of suspenders on a sitter's knee? If there is any object lesson in this, please let me know!

At the séance, Lady Doyle was asked whether she was cold, on answering in the affirmative a holland jacket which had been worn by the medium was dropped in her lap. The Thomas Brothers claimed this had been done by the Spirits. When the séance was over, the medium was found bound but minus his coat.

When I quizzed Sir Arthur about the manner in which the Thomas Brothers of Cardiff were bound during a séance which he attended, he told me that they were secured so tightly that is was impossible for them to move as they were absolutely helpless. I told him that did not make it genuine, for any number of mediums had been tied the same way and had managed to free themselves. He replied that I might be able to release myself by natural means, but that mediums do not have to, as they always receive Spiritual help. Maybe so, but I should like, sometime, to tie them myself and see whether the Spirits could release them under test conditions.*

*Other performers are doing this feat. I have performed it regularly for thirty years without any supernatural power whatever.

I reminded Sir Arthur of the Davenport Brothers and called to his attention the fact that they were able to release themselves. Sir Arthur feels very strongly in the matter of the Davenport Brothers and although I have told him and proven to him that I was a pupil of Ira Erastus Davenport and that Ira personally told me that they did not claim to be Spiritualists and their performances were not given in the name of Spiritualism, Sir Arthur insists that they *were* Spiritualists and has strongly said that if they did their performances under any other name, then Ira was "not only a liar, but a blasphemer as he went around with Mr. Ferguson, a clergyman, and mixed it all up with religion."

I want to go on record that to the best of my knowledge and belief I never stated that Sir Arthur endorsed the mediumship of the New York Thompsons. I did say there were full page articles‡ where he was illustrated as accepting the genuineness of the materialization of his mother. I never claimed that Sir Arthur's son or brother came through the Thomas mediums in Cardiff. I did state that Sir Arthur said they were genuine and that they, the mediums, were helpless to move because he had tied them and in his judgment if they were tied in my presence I would be convinced of their genuineness. I wish to call attention to the fact that in a letter written by the late Stuart Cumberland he agreed with me that there was not a vestige of truth in the mediumship of the Thomas Brothers, and regarding Sir Arthur's endorsement of the "Masked Lady," I did not say he endorsed her although I should judge from newspaper* accounts he seemed very much impressed.

Sir Arthur has rarely given me an opportunity to deny or affirm any statement. In fact one of our sore points of discussion has been the matter of being quoted, or misquoted, in newspapers or periodicals and it seems that Sir Arthur always believes everything I have been quoted as having said. When I was in Oakland, California, I was interviewed by a Mr. Henderson of the *Oakland Tribune*. I gave him some material to work on, enough for one article from which, to my surprise, he wrote a series of eight articles enlarging and misquoting to an "nth" degree. Sir Arthur took exception to a number of statements which I was supposed to have made and he replied to

‡These articles were syndicated, *New York American,* Sept. 3rd, 1922.
**Morning Post,* July 16, 1920.

them caustically through the press and then sent me the following letter in explanation.

"The Ambassador
"Los Angeles
"May 23, 1923.

"My Dear Houdini:—

"I have had to handle you a little roughly in the *Oakland Tribune* because they send me a long screed under quotation marks, so it is surely accurate. It is so full of errors that I don't know where to begin. I can't imagine why you say such wild things which have no basis in fact at all. I put the Thompsons down as humbugs. I never heard of my son or brother through the Thomas brothers. They were never exposed. I never said that Masked Medium was genuine. I wish you would refer to me before publishing such injurious stuff which I have to utterly contradict. I would always tell you the exact facts as I have done with the Zancigs.

"Yours sincerely,
"A. Conan Doyle."

"I hate sparring with a friend in public, but what can I do when you say things which are not correct, and which I have to contradict or else they go by default. It is the same with all this ridiculous stuff of Rinn's. Unless I disprove it, people imagine it is true.

"A. C. D."

At the written invitation of Sir Arthur and Lady Doyle Mrs. Houdini and I visited them while they were stopping at the Ambassador Hotel in Atlantic City. One day as Sir Arthur, Mrs. Houdini and I were sitting on the sand skylarking with the children Sir Arthur excused himself saying that he was going to have his usual afternoon nap. He left us but returned in a short time and said "Houdini, if agreeable, Lady Doyle will give you a special séance, as she has a feeling that she might have a message come through. At any rate, she is willing to try," and turning to Mrs. Houdini he said, "we would like to be alone. You do not mind if we make the experiment without you." Smilingly, my good little wife said, "Certainly not, go right ahead, Sir Arthur; I will leave Houdini in your charge and I know that he will be willing to go to the séance." Doyle said, "You understand, Mrs. Houdini, that this will be a test to see whether we can make any Spirit come through for Houdini, and conditions may prove better if no other force is present."

Before leaving with Sir Arthur, Mrs. Houdini cued me. We did a second sight or mental performance years ago and still use a system or code whereby we can speak to each other in the presence of others,

even though to all outward appearances we are merely talking, pointing or doing the most innocent looking things, but which have different meanings to us.

In that manner Mrs. Houdini told me that on the night previous she had gone into detail with Lady Doyle about the great love I bear for my Mother. She related to her a number of instances, such as, my returning home from long trips, sometimes as far away as Australia, and spending months with my Mother and wearing only the clothes that she had given me, because I thought it would please her and give her some happiness. My wife also remarked about my habit of laying my head on my Mother's breast, in order to hear her heart beat. Just little peculiarities that mean so much to a mother and son when they love one another as we did.

I walked with Sir Arthur to the Doyles' suite. Sir Arthur drew down the shades so as to exclude the bright light. We three, Lady Doyle, Sir Arthur and I, sat around the table on which were a number of pencils and a writing pad, placing our hands on the surface of the table.

Sir Arthur started the séance with a devout prayer. I had made up my mind that I would be as religious as it was within my power to be and not at any time did I scoff at the ceremony. I excluded all earthly thoughts and gave my whole soul to the séance.

I was *willing* to believe, even *wanted* to believe. It was weird to me and with a beating heart I waited, hoping that I might feel once more the presence of my beloved Mother. If there ever was a son who idolized and worshipped his Mother, whose every thought was for her happiness and comfort, that son was myself. My Mother meant my life, her happiness was synonymous with my peace of mind. For that reason, if no other, I wanted to give my every deepest attention to what was going on. It meant to me an easing of all pain that I had in my heart. I especially wanted to speak to my Mother, because that day, *June 17,* 1922, was her birthday.* I was determined to embrace Spiritualism if there was any evidence strong enough to down the doubts that have crowded my brain for the past thirty years.

Presently, Lady Doyle was "seized by a Spirit." Her hands shook and beat the table, her voice trembled and she called to the Spirits

*This was not known to Lady Doyle. If it had been my Dear Mother's Spirit communicating a message, she, knowing her birthday was my most holy holiday, surely would have commented on it.

to give her a message. Sir Arthur tried to quiet her, asked her to restrain herself, but her hand thumped on the table, her whole body shook and at last, making a cross at the head of the page, started writing. And as she finished each page, Sir Arthur tore the sheet off and handed it to me. I sat serene through it all, hoping and wishing that I might feel my mother's presence. There wasn't even a semblance of it. Everyone who has ever had a worshipping Mother and has lost earthly touch, knows the feeling which will come over him at the thought of sensing her presence.

The letter which follows, purported to have come from my Mother, I cannot, as much as I desire, accept as having been written or inspired by the soul or Spirit of my sweet Mother.

"Oh, my darling, thank God, thank God, at last I'm through—I've tried, oh, so often—now I am happy. Why, of course I want to talk to my boy—my own beloved boy—Friends, thank you, with all my heart for this."—

"You have answered the cry of my heart—and of his—God bless him—a thousandfold for all his life for me—never had a Mother such a son—tell him not to grieve—soon he'll get all the evidence he is so anxious for—Yes we know—tell him I want him to try and write in his own home. It will be far better."

"I will work with him—he is so, so dear to me—I am preparing so sweet a home for him in which some day in God's good time he will come to it, is one of my great joys preparing for our future."

"I am so happy in this life—it is so full and joyous—my only shadow has been that my beloved one hasn't known how often I have been with him all the while, all the while—here away from my heart's darling—combining my work thus in this life of mine."

"It is so different over here, so much larger and bigger and more beautiful—so lofty—all sweetness around one—nothing that hurts and we see our beloved ones on earth—that is such a joy and comfort to us—Tell him I love him more than ever—the years only increase it—and his goodness fills my soul with gladness and thankfulness. Oh, just this, it *is* me. I want him only to know that——that—I have bridged the gulf—that is what I wanted, oh, so much—Now I can rest in peace—how soon—"

"I *always* read my beloved son's mind—his dear mind—there is so much I want to say to him—but—I am almost overwhelmed by this joy of talking to him once more—it is almost too much to get through—the joy of it—thank you, thank you, friend, with all my heart for

what you have done for me this day—God bless you, too, Sir Arthur, for what you are doing for us—for us, over here—who so need to get in touch with our beloved ones on the earth plane—"

"If only the world knew this great truth—how different life would be for men and women—Go on let nothing stop you—great will be your reward hereafter—Good-by—I brought you, Sir Arthur, and my son together—I felt you were the only man who might help us to pierce this veil—and I was right—Bless him, bless him, bless him, I say, from the depths of my soul—he fills my heart and later we shall be together—Oh so happy—a happiness awaits him that he has never dreamed of—tell him I am with him—just tell him that I'll soon make him know how close I am all the while—his eyes will soon be opened—Good-by again—God's blessing on you all."

In the case of my séance, Sir Arthur believed that due to the great excitement it was a direct connection.

The more so do I hesitate to believe and accept the above letter because, although my sainted mother had been in America for almost fifty years, she could not speak, read nor write English but Spiritualists claim that when a medium is possessed by a Spirit who does not speak the language, she automatically writes, speaks or sings in the language of the deceased; however, Sir Arthur has told me that a Spirit becomes more educated the longer it is departed and that my blessed Mother had been able to master the English language in Heaven.

After the purported letter from my Mother had been written and I had read it over very carefully, Sir Arthur advised me to follow out the advice, given by my Mother,—to try to write when I reached home.

I picked up a pencil in a haphazard manner and said, "Is there any particular way in which I must hold this pencil when I want to write, or does it write automatically?" *I then wrote the name of "Powell" entirely of my own volition.* Sir Arthur jumped up excitedly and read what I had just written. He saw the word "Powell" and said, "The Spirits have directed you in writing the name of my dear fighting partner in Spiritualism, Dr. Ellis Powell, who has just died in England. I am the person he is most likely to signal to, and here is his name coming through your hands. Truly Saul is among the Prophets."

I must emphatically state that this name was written entirely of my own volition and in full consciousness. I had in my mind, my

friend Frederick Eugene Powell, the American Magician, with whom at the time I was having a great deal of correspondence regarding a business proposition which has since been consummated. There is not the slightest doubt of it having been more than a deliberate mystification on my part, or let us say a kindlier word regarding my thoughts and call it "coincidence."

A few days later Sir Arthur sent me the following letter in reference to my explanation of the writing of the name, "Powell."

"The Ambassador,
New York,
June 20th, 1922.

"My dear Houdini:—

"...No, the Powell explanation, won't do. Not only is he the one man who would wish to get me, but in the evening, Mrs. M., the lady medium, got, "there is a man here. He wants to say that he is sorry he had to speak so abruptly this afternoon." The message was then broken by your Mother's renewed message and so we got no name. But it confirms me in the belief that it *was* Powell. However, you will no doubt test your powers further.

(Signed) "A. Conan Doyle."

I had written an article for the *New York Sun,* October 30, 1922, which gave my views in reference to Spiritualism and at the same time answered the challenge offered by the General Assembly of Spiritualists of New York State. This had been called to the attention of Sir Arthur, who wrote as follows:

"Windlesham,
Crowsborough,
Sussex.

November 19, 1922.

"My dear Houdini:—

"They sent me the *New York Sun* with your article and no doubt wanted me to answer it, but I have no fancy for sparring with a friend in public, so I took no notice.

"But none the less, I felt rather sore about it. You have all the right in the world to hold your own opinion, but when you say that you have had no evidence of survival, you say what I cannot reconcile with what I saw with my own eyes. I know, by many examples, the purity of my wife's mediumship, and I saw what you got and what the effect was upon you at the time. You know also you yourself at once wrote down, with your own hand,

the name of Powell, the one man who might be expected to communicate with me. Unless you were joking when you said that you did not know of this Powell's death, then surely that was evidential, since the idea that out of all your friends you had chanced to write the name of one who exactly corresponded, would surely be too wonderful a coincidence.

"However, I don't propose to discuss this subject any more with you, for I consider that you have had your proofs and that the responsibility of accepting or rejecting is with you. As it *is* a very real lasting responsibility. However, I have it at last, for I have done my best to give you the truth. I will, however, send you my little book, on the fraud perpetrated upon Hope, but that will be my last word on the subject. Meanwhile, there are lots of other subjects on which we can all meet in friendly converse.

"Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) "A. Conan Doyle."

To which I replied:—

"December 15, 1922.

"Sir Arthur Conan Doyle,
Windlesham,
Crowsborough,
Sussex.

"My dear Sir Arthur:—

"Received your letter regarding my article in the *New York* Sun. You write that you are very sore. I trust that it is not with me, because you, having been truthful and manly all your life, naturally must admire the same traits in other human beings.

"I know you are honorable and sincere and think I owe you an explanation regarding the letter I received through the hands of Lady Doyle.

"I was heartily in accord and sympathy at that seance but the letter was written entirely in English and my sainted Mother could not read, write or speak the English language. I did not care to discuss it at the time because of my emotion in trying to sense the presence of my Mother, if there was such a thing possible, to keep me quiet until time passed, and I could give it the proper deduction.

"Regarding my having written the name 'Powell.' Frederick Eugene Powell is a very dear friend of mine. He had just passed through two serious operations. Furthermore Mrs. Powell had a paralytic stroke at that time. I was having some business dealings

with him which entailed a great deal of correspondence; therefore, naturally, his name was uppermost in my mind and I cannot make myself believe that my hand was guided by your friend. It was just a coincidence.

"I trust my clearing up of the séance, from my point of view is satisfactory, and that you do not harbor any ill feelings, because I hold both Lady Doyle and yourself in the highest esteem. I know you treat this as a religion but personally I cannot do so, for up to the present time I have never seen or heard anything that could convert me.

"Trusting you will accept my letter in the same honest, good faith as it has been written.

"With best wishes to Lady Doyle, yourself and the family, in which Mrs. Houdini joins,

"Sincerely yours,

(Signed) "Houdini."

In January, 1923, the *Scientific American* issued a challenge of $2,500 to the first person to produce a psychic photograph under test conditions. An additional $2,500 was offered to the first person who, under the test conditions, defined, and to the satisfaction of the judges named, produced an objective psychic manifestation of physical character as defined, and of such sort that permanent instrumental record may be made of its occurrence.

The committee named were: Dr. William McDougall, D.Sc., Professor of Psychology at Harvard; Daniel Frisk Comstock, Ph.D., former member of the Faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Walter Franklin Prince, Ph.D., Principal Research Officer for the S. P. R.; Hereward Carrington, Ph.D., Psychic Investigator; J. Malcolm Bird, Member of the Scientific American Staff; and myself.*

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*So far, all of the several seances of investigation held under the auspices of the *Scientific American,* have failed in proving the existence of supernatural power or force, such as might with logical consistency be conceded as psychic.

Valentine, the Wilkesbarre medium, proved to be a failure. Rev. (?) Jessie K. Stewart the same. Mrs. Elizabeth Allen Tomson of Chicago, a complete fiasco, not possessing sufficient courage to attempt a sitting other than under conditions and in a place prescribed by herself. And lastly the Italian lad, Nino Pecoraro, has accomplished nothing beyond the possibility

Sir Arthur's letter is self-explanatory.

"Windlesham,
Crowsborough,
Sussex.
"January 1, 1923.

"My dear Houdini:

". . . I see that you are on the Scientific American Committee, but how can it be called an Impartial Committee when you have committed yourself to such statements as that some Spiritualists pass away before they realize how they have been deluded, etc? You have every possible right to hold such an opinion, but you can't sit on an Impartial Committee afterwards. It becomes biased at once. What I wanted was five good clear-headed men who can push to it without any prejudice at all, like the Dialectical Society* of London, who unanimously endorsed the phenomena.

"Once more all greetings,

(Signed) "A. Conan Doyle."

On May 21, 22 and 24 the *Scientific American* held their first test seances. The permanent sitters were Mr. Walker, Mr. Lescurboura, Mr. J. Malcolm Bird of the Editorial staff of the *Scientific American,* Mr. Owen of the *Times,* Mr. Granville Lehrmann of the American Telephone and Telegraph and Richard I. Worrell, *a friend* of the medium. Drs. Carrington and Prince of the Committee of Judges sat on Monday. Dr. Prince and myself on Thursday. On Tuesday the Committee was represented by Mr. Frederick Keating, conjuror.

The medium, a man by the name of George Valentine of Wilkes-

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of human exertion, and failed utterly in so doing when securely fettered, as proved to be the case, when I personally did the tying.

And from the results gotten thus far from the series of sittings with this "medium" it is safe to predict that the final analysis will place him in the same category as all others to date.

*According to Spiritualistic publications The Dialectical Society never made a full report. The "Reports" of sub-committees only were published by Spiritualist papers used by writers in books but such *reports* were based on "hear-say" evidence taken from Spirits. They told their ghost stories to Committees and they were believed. There never was a unanimous report or conclusion. The non-Spiritual (?) members of the Dialectical Society refused to have anything to do with the investigation. The great majority of the Committee were full-fledged Spiritualists, and the few whom they claimed to have convinced were simply credulous.

Barre, Penn., claimed to be genuine. He was trapped by being seated on a chair which was so arranged that when he arose an electric light arrangement was fixed in the room adjoining, together with dictographs and a phosphorous button. In the estimation of the Committee, Mr. Valentine was just a common, ordinary trickster.

Lady Doyle, Miss Juliet Karcher, Mrs. Houdini, Sir Arthur and I were lunching at the Royal Automobile Club in London, May 11, 1920, and Sir Arthur called attention to the fact that a few days previously they had been sitting at the same table with a powerful medium, and he told me in a very serious tone, which was corroborated by Lady Doyle, that the table started to move all around the place to the astonishment of the waiter, who was not aware of the close proximity of the medium.

All the time he was relating it, I watched him closely and saw that both he and Lady Doyle were most sincere and believed what they had told me to be an actual fact.

There are times when I almost doubt the sincerity of some of Sir Arthur's *statements,* even though I do not doubt the sincerity of his belief.

I have been over a number of letters which I have received from Sir Arthur during the last few years and selected the following excerpts which show his viewpoint regarding many of the matters we have discussed.

"I do not wonder that they put you down as an occult. As I read the accounts I do not see how you do it. You must be a brave man as well as exceptionally dexterous."

"How you get out of the diving suits beats me, but the whole thing beats me completely."

"I spoke of the Davenport Brothers. Your word on the matter knowing, as you do both the man and the possibilities of his art, would be final."

"You are to me a perpetual mystery. No doubt you are to everyone."

"In a fair light I saw my dead Mother as clearly as I ever saw her in life. I am a cool observer and I do not make mistakes. It was wonderful—but it taught me nothing I did not know before."

"Our best remembrances to your wife and yourself. For God's sake be careful in those fearsome feats of yours. You ought to be able to retire now."

"These clairvoyants whose names I have given you are passive agents in themselves and powerless. If left to themselves they guess and muddle—as they sometimes do, when the true connection is formed, all is clear. That connection depends on the forces beyond, which are repelled by frivolity or curiosity but act under the impulse of sympathy."

"I see that you know a great deal about the negative side of Spiritualism."

"If you think of a lost friend before going to a seance and breathe a prayer that you may be allowed to get in touch you will have a chance—otherwise none. It really does depend upon psychic or mental vibrations and harmonies."

"I fear there is much fraud among American mediums where Spiritualism seems to have deservedly fallen into disrepute. Even when genuine it is used for stock exchange, and other base worldly purposes. No wonder it has sunk low in the very land that was honored by the first Spiritual manifestations of the series."

"You certainly have very wonderful powers, whether inborn or acquired."

"I envy you the privilege of having met Ira Davenport."

"Most of our great mediums at present are unpaid amateurs, inaccessible to any but Spiritualists."

"Something *must* come your way if you really persevere and get it out of your mind that you should follow it as a terrier follows a rat."

"Mental harmony does not in the least abrogate common sense."

"I heard of your remarkable feat in Bristol. My dear chap, why do you go around the world seeking a demonstration of the occult when you are giving one all the time?"

"I *know* Hope to be a true psychic and will give you my reasons when I treat it, but you can give no man a blank check for honesty on every particular occasion, whether there is a temptation to hedge when psychic power runs low is a question to be considered. I am for an uncompromising honesty—but also for thorough examination based on true knowledge."

"I am amused by your investigation with the Society for Psychical Research. Have they never thought of investigating you?"

"It was good of you to give those poor invalids a show and you will find yourself in the third sphere alright with your dear wife, world without end, whatever you may believe."

"Incredulity seems to me to be a sort of insanity under the circumstances." This was in reference to some photographs of ectoplasm which I questioned.

"This talk of 'fake' is in most cases nonsense and shows our own imperfect knowledge of conditions and of the ways of Controls, who often take short cuts to their ends, having no regard at all to our critical idea."

"Our opponents talk of one failure and omit a great series of successes. However, truth wins and there is lots of time."

"I never let a pressman (newspaper man) get away with it with impunity if I can help it."*

"Our relations are certainly curious and likely to become more so, for as long as you attack what *I know* from experience to be true I have no alternative but to attack you in turn. How long a private friendship can survive such an ordeal I do not know, but at least I did not create the situation."

"You have a reputation among Spiritualists of being a bitterly

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*Sir Arthur Conan Doyle seems to imagine that all the newspapers in the world are against him. After his Australian tour he accused the Australian papers of refusing to publish the truth about his séances. Writing about American newspapers in his book, "Our American Adventure," he says: "The editors seem to place the intelligence of the public very low, and to imagine that they cannot be attracted save by vulgar, screaming headlines.

"The American papers have a strange way also of endeavoring to compress the whole meaning of some item into a few words of headline, which, as often as not, are slang."

Even in Canada Sir Arthur claims to have been badly used by the newspapers. In "Our American Adventure" he writes: "There were some rather bitter attacks in the Toronto papers, including the one leader in the *Evening Telegram,* which was so narrow and illiberal that I do not think the most provincial paper in Britain could have been guilty of it.

"It was to the effect that British lecturers took money out of the town, that they did not give the money's worth, and that they should be discouraged.

" 'Poking Them in the Eye' was the dignified title.

"It did not seem to occur to the writer that a comic opera or a bedroom comedy was equally taking the money out of the town, but that the main purpose served by lectures, whether one agreed with the subject or not, was that they kept the public in first hand touch with the great current questions of mankind. I am bound to say that no other Toronto paper sank to the depth of the *Evening Telegram* but the general atmosphere was the least pleasant that I had met with in my American travels."

prejudiced enemy who would make trouble if it were possible—I know this is not so."

On page 150 of Sir Arthur's book "Our American Adventure" he says:

"Houdini is not one of those shallow men who imagine they can explain away Spiritual phenomena as parlor tricks, but he retains an open—and ever, I think, a more receptive—mind toward mysteries which are beyond his art. He understands, I hope, that to get truth in the matter you have not to sit as a Sanhedrim of Judgment, like the Circle of Conjurors in London, since Spiritual truth does not come as a culprit to a bar, but you must submit in a humble spirit to psychic conditions and so go forth, making most progress when on your knees."

Sir Arthur has told me time and time again that his whole life is based upon the subject of Spiritualism and that he has sacrificed some of the best years of his life to the betterment and spread of the cause, which, due to his sincerity, is a beautiful faith.* But in my opinion it is no "sacrifice" to convince people who have recently suffered a bereavement of the possibility and reality of communicating with their dear ones. To me the poor suffering followers eagerly searching for relief from the heart-pain that follows the passing on of a dear one are the "sacrifice."

Sir Arthur thinks that I have great mediumistic powers and that some of my feats are done with the aid of spirits. Everything I do is accomplished by material means, humanly possible, no matter how

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* In an article in *Truth,* April, 1923, entitled "The New Revelation," by Rev. P. J. Cormican, S. J., he asks:

"Does the knighted prophet of the New Revelation (Sir Arthur Conan Doyle) tell the whole truth about Spiritism? We think not. He says nothing about the evil consequences, physical, intellectual and moral, to those who dabble in Spiritism. He gives a one-sided account of the matter. He says nothing about what Spiritism has done, and is still doing, to fill our lunatic asylums all over the world. There are over thirty thousand lunatics in England alone who lost their mind through this modern necromacy. Doyle does not even hint at the countless cases of insanity and suicide, of blasphemy and obscenity, of lying and deception, of broken homes and violated troth, all caused by Spiritism. To suppose that a God of truth and sanctity is giving a new message through such sources and with such consequences, is blasphemy pure and simple. Furthermore, to assert that this New Revelation is to supersede a worn-out creed is both gratuitous and absurd. Christianity will last till the crack of doom, when titled prophets shall have ceased to cross the Atlantic in quest of American shekels."

baffling it is to the layman. He says that I do not enter a seance in the right frame of mind, that I should be more submissive, but in all the seances I have attended I have never had a feeling of antagonism. I have no desire to discredit Spiritualism; I have no warfare with Sir Arthur; I have no fight with the Spirits; but I do believe it is my duty, for the betterment of humanity, to place frankly before the public the results of my long investigation of Spiritualism. I am willing to be convinced; my mind is open, but the proof must be such as to leave no vestige of doubt that what is claimed to be done is accomplished only through or by supernatural power. So far I have never on any occasion, in all the seances I have attended, seen anything which would lead me to credit a mediumistic performance with supernatural aid, nor have I ever seen anything which has convinced me that it is possible to communicate with those who have passed out of this life. Therefore I do not agree with Sir Arthur.

IV. Conclusion

It has been my desire in this book to convey to the reader my views regarding Spiritualism which are the result of study and investigation, the startling feature of which has been the utter inability of the average human being to describe accurately anything he or she has witnessed. Many sitters, devoid of the sense of acute observation, prefer to garnish and embellish their stories with the fruits of their fertile imaginations, adding a choice bit every time the incident is reported, and eventually, by a trick of the brain, really believing what they say. It is evident, therefore, that by clever misguidance and apt misdirection of attention, a medium can accomplish seeming wonders. The sitter becomes positively self-deluded and actually thinks he has seen weird phantoms or has heard the voice of a beloved one.

To my knowledge I have never been baffled in the least by what I have seen at seances. Everything I have seen has been merely a form of mystification. The secret of all such performances is to catch the mind off guard and the moment after it has been surprised to follow up with something else that carries the intelligence along with the performer, even against the spectator's will. When it is possible to do this with a highly developed mind like Mr. Kellar's, one trained in magic mystery, and when scientific men of the intelligence of Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the late

William Crookes and William T. Stead, can be made to believe by such means how much easier it must be in the case of ordinary human beings.

I cannot accept nor even comprehend the intelligence which justifies the conclusion, so often put in print as the opinion of brainy men supporting Spiritualism, that admits the possibility of a result being accomplished by natural means but nevertheless assert their sincere belief that the identical performance by a professional medium is solely of supernatural origin and guidance, nor can I understand the reasoning that, acknowledging the disreputable character of certain practitioners or mediums, deliberately defends the culprits in the performance of what has been proven a crime. Is it true logic, logic that would stand either in court or club room, to say that a medium caught cheating ninety-nine times out of a hundred was honest the hundredth time because not caught? Would the reader trust a servant who stole ninety-nine articles and then professed innocence when the hundredth article was missing?

Sir Conan Doyle asks in all innocence, "Is it really scientific to deny and at the same time refuse to investigate?" My answer is most emphatically "no." Nevertheless, they absolutely oppose all honest efforts at investigation, and justify the mediums in refusing to work when the conditions are not just as they want them. When one is invited to a dark seance for the purpose of investigation and finds the conditions so fixed as to bar him from enquiring too closely and compel him to be content with merely looking on he stands a poor chance of getting at the facts, and should he dare to disregard the "rules of the circle" and the seance results in a blank, the investigator is charged with having brought an atmosphere of incredulity to bear which prevents manifestation.

I do not affirm that the claims of Spiritualism are disproved by such failures but I do say that if under such circumstances one dared to investigate properly and sanely, and to cross-examine, as he most certainly would do in any other form of investigation, scientific, or in the other walks of life, Spiritualism would not be so generously accepted. In justification the psychic says that darkness or excessively dim light is perfectly legitimate and that tangible investigation might result in *injury* or even *death* to the medium. The folly of any such fear has been proven time and again by the unexpected play of a flash light. Even the ardent supporters who lay emphasis on such an absurdity, according to their own confes-

sion, made, or had made, flashlight photographs and there has never been a single case of harm or disaster reported. This necessity for darkness seems but the grossest invention of the medium to divert, even to the point of intimidation, the attention of the sitters. Such a necessity cannot be accorded a logical reason for existing under test conditions to demonstrate a scientific subject. It can be supported only as a visionary, speculative superstition; an instrument to foster hallucinatory illusion and as an admirable subterfuge to cover fraud.

Sir Arthur says:

"If you want to send a telegram you must go to a telegraph office. If you want to telephone you must first pick up the receiver and give your message to either an operator or a waiting automaton."

Very well, I have gone to the operator between the Beyond and this earthly sphere, I have gone to the telegraph office that receives the message in code, to the so-called *medium*. What would be more wonderful to me than to be able to converse with my beloved mother? Surely there is no love in this world like a mother's love, no closeness of spirit, no other heart throbs that beat alike; but I have not heard from my blessed Mother, except through the dictates of the inmost recesses of my heart, the thoughts which fill my brain and the memory of her teachings.

Would not my private secretary, John William Sargent, come back to me and tell me the secrets of the beyond if it were possible? Did he not, just before he died, tell me that he would come to me if there was any way of doing it? More than being a private secretary, he was my friend,—true, loyal, sacrificing,—knew me for thirty years. He has not come back to me and he would if it were possible.

I had compacts with a round dozen. Each one promised me faithfully to come back if it were possible. I have even gone so far as to create secret codes and hand-grips. Sargent had a certain word he was to repeat to me; William Berol, the eminent mental expert, gave me the secret handshake a few hours before he died and did not regain consciousness after silently telling me that he remembered our compact; Atlanta Hall, niece of President Pierce, a woman ninety years of age, who had had seances with the greatest mediums that visited Boston, called for me just before her death, clasped my hand and gave me our agreed-upon grip which she was

to give me through a medium. They have never come back to me! Does that prove anything? I have attended a number of seances since their death, the mediums have called for them, and when their spirit forms were supposed to appear not one of them could give me the proper signal. Would I have received it? I'll wager I would have. There was love of some kind between each of these friends who are gone and myself. It is needless to point out the love of a mother and son; the love of a real friend; the love of a woman of ninety toward a man who held her dear; the love of a philosopher toward a man who respected his life study,—they were all loves, each strong, each binding. If these persons, with all the love they bore in their heart for me and all the love I have in my heart for them, did not return, what about those who did not hold me close, who had no interest in me? Why should they come back and mine not?

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has repeatedly told the Spiritualists that I will eventually see the light and embrace Spiritualism. If the memory of a loved one, gone to the protection of the hands of the Great Mystifier means Spiritualism, then truly I do believe in it. But if Spiritualism is to be founded on the tricks of exposed mediums, feats of magic, resort to trickery, then I say unflinchingly I do not believe, and more, I will not believe. I have said many times that I am willing to believe, want to believe, will believe if the Spiritualists can show any substantiated proof, but until they do I shall have to live on, believing from all the evidence shown me and from what I have experienced that Spiritualism has not been proven satisfactorily to the world at large and that none of the evidence offered has been able to stand up under the fierce rays of investigation.

It is not for us to prove that the mediums are dishonest, it is for them to prove that they *are* honest. They have made a statement, the most serious statement in recent times, for it affects the welfare, the mental attitude and means a complete revolution of age-old beliefs and customs of the world. If there is anything to Spiritualism then the world should know it. If there is nothing to it, if it is, as it appears, built on a flimsy framework of misdirection, then too the universe must be told. There is too much at stake for a flighty passing, for unsubstantiated truths.

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